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**THE LAST DAYS OF NAPOLEON.**

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**MEMOIRS**

**OF**

**THE LAST TWO YEARS**

**OF**

**NAPOLEON'S EXILE**

**BY**

**F. ANTOMMARCHI.**

**FORMING A SEQUEL**

**TO THE**

**JOURNALS OF DR. O'MEARA AND COUNT LAS CASES.**

**IN TWO VOLS.**

**VOL. I.**

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TO  
**CORSICA,**

THE LAND WHICH GAVE HIM BIRTH,

AND

WHICH HE HAS NEVER CEASED TO LOVE.

F. ANTOMMARCHI.



## PREFACE.

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I HAD not intended, for the present, to embody the recollections I have preserved from St. Helena: but works are rapidly succeeding each other; in some of which Napoleon is described as a man of a violent temper, constantly irritated, and pursuing with base hatred all those who formerly surrounded him; whilst others, arming his own hand against himself, represent him as seeking to terminate at Fontainebleau that

most dramatic effect ; but their only existence, in the case alluded to, has been in the imagination of the writer who is pleased to describe them.

THE  
LAST MOMENTS OF  
NAPOLEON.

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IN writing the following pages I have no intention to cast blame or censure upon any one ; but having witnessed Napoleon's last moments, having attended him during his protracted agony, and closed his eyes, I think I owe it to the world to relate what I have seen.

I was acquainted with the Chevalier Colonna, chamberlain to *Madame Mère*. His zeal and devotedness, and the noble indignation which had prompted him to resign the government of the Abbruzzi, were known to me ; and I therefore felt entire confidence in his honour and integrity, and could have no hesitation in

following any advice he might give me.. He proposed to me to proceed to St. Helena, and I immediately made up my mind to accept his proposal. I consequently settled my own private affairs, made arrangements to prevent the publication of the posthumous works of the celebrated Mascagni, which I superintended, from being interrupted or retarded by my absence, and prepared to depart. This activity was observed, and became obnoxious. Some honest people set to work, and in a short time I was noted as a suspected individual, and had all the agents of the police after me. Marquesses, *abbés*, spies,—all worthy souls, had taken the alarm; it seemed as if I alone could fire Italy from one extremity to the other! Some threatened me, others directed the attention of the Minister towards me: secret informations, anonymous letters,—all were employed against me. But these base intrigues did not affect me. I was going to be attached to the person of the greatest man of the age, to share his exile, to enjoy his presence; little did I care for that vile tribe of insects that are for ever fluttering round the light of power!

The police, to whom I was a source of uneasiness, was however unwilling to let me go.



I was anatomical prosector\* at the hospital of Sainte-Marie-Neuve at Florence, attached to the University of Pisa, and as such obliged to reside on the spot. I asked for leave of absence—it was refused; I tendered my resignation—it was not accepted: I could not remain, and was not allowed to go. At a loss what steps to take, I had recourse to negotiations; but the more I insisted, the more I awakened suspicion. The name of Napoleon filled their minds with terror; nothing could dissipate their fears. If I enumerated all the obstacles which rendered the return of that great man impossible,—the seas, fleets, mountains that intervened between him and Europe,—I endeavoured to lull their vigilance into security, I magnified those obstacles because they were perhaps already overcome; I was his agent, his accomplice—I deserved to be held up to public animadversion. These fears of the man in office made me smile; he perceived it, turned pale with anger, and seizing the bell-rope, “You seem to defy me, Sir!” said he.—“I am listening to you.”—“You insult me!”—“Far from it, Sir.”—“Recollect, Sir, that a word, a sign”.....—“I know it.”—

\* *Prosecteur d'Anatomie*, one who dissects for a Professor of Anatomy.

“Your plots, your secret practices”...—“Anatomical?”—“Your accomplices”...—“The corpses?”—“You interrupt me, Sir, and I will not be interrupted. Yes, Sir, neither your plots, your secret practices, nor your accomplices, have escaped the vigilance of the police. Every thing is known to me, even your most trifling arrangements”...—“In the dissecting-room?”—“No, Sir, in the ball-room: the vapours—the scenes *à la* Campbell. Is Colonna still indisposed? Is he coming? What mad-cap of a woman have you chosen?” I looked at him, to endeavour to make out what he meant.—“My questions are obscure; you do not understand me. It was I who set that old fool B . . . . . after Campbell: I am not to be deceived by your feigned astonishment, Sir; you are a”...—“Physiologist?”—“A conspirator, Sir! However, physiologist and conspirator are one and the same thing. You sigh after the return of the Saturnalia; you regret the time when an executioner, stained with the blood of the victims which his knife had polluted, put on the gown and exercised his share of power.”—“Every body is now in his place, Sir; that time will never return. I was saying, Sir, that Napoleon”...—“Keeps all Europe in a state of alarm.”

“Chained, closely confined?”—“He is regretted by the people.”—“Vast oceans separate him from them.”—“Those oceans may be crossed.”—“But how can he escape the vigilance of the English?”—“He will deceive them, take them by surprise: water, air, earth, or some new element will assist him; he will recover his liberty once more. I expect any thing; but I watch over Tuscany.”—“What has Tuscany to fear,—what can happen to it?”—“The very misfortune you desire for it. Do you think that I deceive myself? do you think that I am not aware of the effect that would be produced if the demon of war appeared once more on the summit of the Alps, and called on the people of Italy to arm for liberty?”

Nothing is to be gained by discussion, particularly with the police; I therefore left this man to brood over his fears, and applied to Cardinal Fesch. I did not wait long before I received the following answer from his Eminence:

“Rome, 19th December, 1818.

“MONSIEUR ANTOMMARCHI,

“Having been requested by Lord Bathurst to procure a surgeon of some fame to be sent to St. Helena, to attend the Emperor Napoleon,

I have selected you to fill that situation, in consequence of the excellent testimonials that have been given to me concerning you, and of the assurance I have received of your ardent wish to devote your zeal and talents to the service of that Prince. You will, therefore, deliver the enclosed letter to his Excellency Lord Burghersh, the British Minister at Florence, in order to obtain from him the passports necessary to enable you to proceed to Rome, and from Rome to London through Germany.

“The sum required for your voyage will be delivered to you here, and the Emperor will himself fix your annual salary.

“You will find here some travelling companions, who are going to the same place as yourself.

“Accept, Sir, the assurance of my friendship and gratitude.

“J. CARDINAL FESCH.”

I delivered to the British Minister the Cardinal's letter, which contained the original despatch of Lord Bathurst, authorizing his Eminence to send out four persons to St. Helena. The Minister read it, offered me his countenance and his services, and told me that he

should immediately inform the Grand Duke of the intentions of the English Government. That communication did not, however, put a stop to the informations and insults directed against me. I continued to be watched and threatened, and I even expected every moment to be arrested. My fate, I knew, had been discussed in council; and ministers had assembled three times to deliberate upon that grave affair. It had, in fact, been decided that I should be arrested; but the British Minister represented the odium that would attach to such a measure, and its execution was suspended, and the matter referred to the Cabinet of Vienna, who did not consider my resolution so culpable as the Tuscans had judged it. My resignation was, therefore, accepted. I received my passports, and set off on the 5th January for Rome, where I arrived on the 7th.

I was introduced to *Madame Mère*, to the Cardinal, and to all the members of the Imperial family then at Rome. I thought I should not remain in that city longer than the time necessary to receive their orders, and that I should proceed without delay; but his Eminence was deeply engaged in bulls and orthodoxy, in order to be satisfied that the priest

who was to accompany me did not err in matters of faith. Unfortunately Abbé Parigi was a very accomplished man,—a man of taste and literary acquirements, and of elegant manners, and one who might have greatly contributed to enliven the tedious hours spent by the Emperor at St. Helena. But his determination had displeased certain devout personages, and means were found to prepossess against him the Pope, the Archbishop, and all those who had any influence at Rome.

The Cardinal was aware that the Abbé was the victim of calumny ; but susceptible, like Cæsar, he nevertheless rejected him, and withdrew the bull from him. A successor to him was now to be found ; and that was no easy matter ; so many qualifications are required to make an apostle ! But grace, which never forsakes the just, inspired his Eminence with the idea that a missionary, knowing enough of theology and physic to instruct and cure the savages of the South Sea Islands, was precisely the man fitted for St. Helena. Tried both in faith and works, such a man would unite every advantage, and offer no objections ; and such a man ought to be sent. Buonavita was consequently selected and appoint-

ed Apostolical Prefect. After a residence of twenty-six years in Mexico, Buonavita had returned to Europe, and had been successively almoner to *Madame Mère* at Elba, and chaplain to Princess Pauline at Rome. He was full of zeal; but feeble, gouty, and infirm, he could not possibly fulfil the object of his mission. A recent attack of apoplexy had also affected his tongue, and almost entirely deprived him of speech. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to accept the appointment. His wish to serve the Emperor made him forget the weakness of his powers. However, as member of the College of the *Propaganda*, he could not go alone. Missions in which the line is to be crossed must be composed of at least two missionaries; and a young Abbé Vignali, who had some notions of medicine, was therefore attached to Buonavita. Princess Pauline gave her cook, *Madame Mère* one of her valets, and thus a little colony was formed. It now remained to be determined whether we should proceed by sea or land; whether we should journey by long or short stages. The Emperor was suffering, and without a physician; but as a priest was to be sent to him who had lost the use of all



his limbs, it was resolved that we should go at a snail's pace, crossing Germany without changing horses, and stopping every where ; and that we should wait until the health of our Apostolical Prefect was re-established.

I had already been a month at Rome : time was passing, and we did not move. My patience was almost exhausted ; but his Eminence was assailed with doubts and scruples ;—I was obliged to submit. To beguile the tedious hours, I tried to visit the soil which I was treading, and which had been trodden by the masters of the world. Here the Gracchi had perished !—there Scipio—further on Servilius ! Wherever I turned my eyes, they fell on some spot polluted by crime or bloodshed. It was quite enough for me ; and I had no need of the recollections awakened by the aspect of the ruins that Flaminius had once inhabited, to estimate the value of an aristocracy.

At length I received Dr. O'Meara's report of the Emperor's complaint. It was as follows :

“ In the last days of September, symptoms have been developed which indicate a disordered state of the hepatic regions. Napoleon had before that time had frequent attacks of

catarrh, head-ach, and rheumatism; but these affections are now aggravated,—his legs and feet are swollen.

“ The gums have assumed a spongy, scorbutic appearance, and signs of indigestion have become manifest.

“ 1st *Oct.* 1817.—Acute pain, heat, sensation of heaviness in the right hypochondriac region, accompanied by dyspepsia and costiveness.

“ From that period the disease has continually increased. Its progress has been slow, but unceasing. The pain, which at first was slight, has become so violent that an inflammatory hepatitis may be feared. This aggravation of the disorder proceeds from a violent catarrh.

“ Three of the molar-teeth were carious, and I thought they might be, in part, the cause of the inflammatory affections of the maxillary muscles and membranes, and that they might also have produced the catarrh. I therefore extracted them at proper intervals, and the attacks have since been less frequent.

“ In order to remove the scorbutic appearance of the gums, I prescribed a vegetable diet, and the use of acids. This treatment had

the desired effect; the affection disappeared, returned again, and again yielded to it.

“ Opening medicines and frictions had relieved the legs: they were, however, again attacked after some time, but less violently. Purgatives, warm baths, abundant perspirations, have often diminished the pain in the hypochondriac region, without, however, dissipating it completely. In the months of April and May it increased considerably; became irregular, and produced costiveness, diarrhoea, abundant evacuations of bilious and mucous matter, cholic, and flatulency, accompanied with loss of appetite, sensations of heaviness, uneasiness, and oppression at the pit of the stomach.\* Face pale; sclerotic tunicle of the eye† yellow; urine acrid and strongly coloured; depression of spirits, and head-ach. The patient could not lean on the left side. He experienced heat in the right hypochondriac region; nausea, sometimes followed by vomiting of bilious matter, acrid and viscous, and which increased with the pain; almost total absence of sleep; extreme weakness.

“ The swelling of the legs again appeared, but in a less degree than at first. Head-ach,

\* Anticardium.

† Cornea.

uneasiness, anxiety, oppression in the epigastric and precordial region, paroxysm of fever in the earlier part of the night; skin hot, thirst, nausea, pulse quick. Towards day calm and perspiration. This is an effect that may be generally observed in the case of the patient: the fever leaves him after an abundant perspiration. There is in the right hypochondriac region a tumefaction, which is felt on exterior pressure. The tongue is almost constantly white. The pulse, which before his illness gave 54 to 60 pulsations per minute, now beats 88. Pain above the shoulder-blade. Ordered two purgatives to stimulate the liver and the bowels, and to re-establish the secretion of the bile. This gave relief, but it was of short duration. In the last days of May and the first days of June, the effects produced were slight and momentary. Proposed the use of mercury; but the patient manifested the greatest repugnance to take it, and objected to it under any shape. I advised him to ride on horseback, to rub every day the hypochondriac regions with a brush, to wear flannel, to take warm baths, to use remedies, to seek diversion, to follow a diet, and not to expose himself to bad weather, and to the variations of the

atmosphere. He has neglected the two most important things,—viz. exercise and diversion. At last, on the 11th of June, I overcame his repugnance, and obtained that he would try mercury; and he took mercurial pills, No. ij, gr. vj. He continued this medicine until the 16th. I administered them night and morning, and gave him now and then some opening medicines to remove costiveness. At the end of six days I changed the prescription, and substituted calomel (*submurias hydrargyri*) for mercury; but it produced nausea, vomiting, cholic, and a general sensation of uneasiness. I suspended the use of it, and tried it again on the 19th: it caused the same effects. I returned to the first mercurial preparation, and gave it three times a day until the 27th, when I discontinued it altogether. The apartments were extremely damp, and Napoleon had a violent catarrh, with high fever and extreme irritation. I again had recourse to the former remedy on the 2d of July, and continued it till the 9th, but without success. The salivary glands were still in the same state. Absence of sleep, irritation, and vertigos were of more frequent occurrence. Two years of inaction, a murderous climate, apartments low and ill-ven-

tilated, a most barbarous treatment, solitude,—every circumstance that can painfully affect the mind, has concurred in this case ; and, all combined, have acted with simultaneous effect on the patient. Can it be a matter of surprise if the hepatic regions are disordered ? Is it not, on the contrary, wonderful that the progress of the malady has not been more rapid ? That it has not, must be attributed to the strength of mind of the patient, and to the soundness of a constitution unimpaired by intemperance or debauchery.

(Signed) “ BARRY E. O’MEARA,  
Surgeon, &c.”

“ Longwood, 9th July, 1818.”

The Cardinal and *Madame Mère* wished to lay this report before some members of the profession at Rome ; and for that purpose they assembled a consultation of those who enjoyed the greatest reputation. I was present at the conference, together with one of the missionaries, but without taking part in the deliberations. The result of the consultation was delivered to me a few days after in writing. That document was to be my law, my guide ; I was not to deviate from it. A copy of it

“ 6th. Lastly, in the hottest time of the year, cold, or at least slightly tepid baths, as well as shower-baths, on the right hypochondriac regions, may be resorted to, but with prudence, if the continuation or increase of the obstruction in the liver should require it, and the scorbutic affection should not forbid their use.

“ The applicability of the advice contained in this consultation must depend on the peculiar circumstances of the case of the august patient, and on the state of his disorder, when the medical attendant selected for him shall visit him.

(Signed) “ PAUL-BAPTIST MUCCHIELLI,  
Physician to his Highness.

“ JOHN-BAPTIST BOMBA,	} Professors of the University.”
PETER LUPI,	
DOMINIQUE MINCHINI,	
JOSEPH SISCO.	

“ Rome, 1st February, 1819.”

In the midst of all these consultations, cares, and anxieties, time was rapidly passing away : the end of February approached, and the



period of our departure was not yet fixed. It was in vain that I begged and prayed; his Eminence had always still some case to provide for, some arrangements to make, and my solicitations produced no effect. At last, however, by dint of perseverance I succeeded. He yielded, and gave the desired order; but we were still obliged to lose two days in order to accept a most magnificent dinner, at which *Madame Mère*, Pauline, and Louis were present. Every body was in very good spirits, and they all wished us a pleasant journey and a safe passage.

We had numberless ornaments for the Emperor's chapel, but not a single letter, not a word for the Emperor himself. His Eminence had been so much engaged with bulls and symbols, and other matters of faith, that he had not had time to announce our departure, or even to write a few lines of introduction for us to the *Grand-Maréchal*. He, however, promised to send to London despatches for St. Helena; and on the 25th, in the morning, we at last quitted Rome. But unfortunately our horses were not good, and the roads were bad, so that we proceeded but slowly, and

were twelve days going to Bologna. Her Majesty the Archduchess Maria Louisa had arrived there the day before us; she was going to Florence, whither she was to precede her august father. She did not stop, but the inhabitants had run to meet her, and taking the horses from her carriage, had drawn her a considerable distance in the midst of the most lively acclamations. We continued our journey, and reached successively Modena and Parma. At the latter place we got a lock of little Napoleon's hair, which we religiously carried to St. Helena. We passed through Turin, over Mount Cenis, through Geneva, part of Switzerland, the duchy of Baden, along the right bank of the Rhine, and reached Frankfort on the 1st of April. In that city I had been directed to see the Countess of Survilliers, who received me in the most flattering manner, and enquired very particularly respecting the health of *Madame Mère*. She also introduced me to her two daughters, whose beauty was only equalled by their modesty, and asked me several questions concerning the eldest son of Prince Canino. Being ignorant of the marriage that was then projected, I was at

a loss to account for the lively interest he inspired.

I went the following day to Offenbach, where Count Las Cases resided. Abbé Buonavita had a letter for him from his Eminence, and I wished to offer my services to him, and take his commands for St. Helena; but we found him so ill and so exhausted, that he could scarcely make himself heard. He entered into some details respecting his complaint, and asked my advice as to what he was to do; and this discussion, and the information he gave us about St. Helena, made it very late when I returned to Frankfort. However, as we were to set off the next morning, I went to take leave of Madame de Survilliers. She again asked me several questions, appeared satisfied with my answers, and expressed a wish to see the introduction to the great anatomical work of Mascagni, of which I had a copy with me. The subject was not one much calculated to flatter the delicate taste of a lady; but she desired it, and I obeyed. She admired the neatness and beauty of the execution of the work, and was pleased to address me some highly flattering encomiums on the subject. She then

requested me to remember her to the Emperor, and delivered to Abbé Buonavita various trifling things, some of which were for his Majesty, and the others for Madame Bertrand. On leaving Frankfort we proceeded through Antwerp to Ostend, where we embarked on board the packet.

Our destination was known, and we received marked attention from every body on board. Some addressed congratulations to us ; others, expressions of regret : all, save one, seemed as if they would willingly have shared our exile. " What madness !" exclaimed he : " Bonaparte—a traitor !" I was going to reply to the exclamations of this Englishman, who continued them in a tone participating of anger and shame ; " Let him alone," said somebody ; " it is Campbell : he has some right to be abusive—do not interrupt him." I followed this advice. Our Captain was in high spirits ; his pleasantry entertained us all : and we all agreed with him, to Napoleon's shame, that to set an old woman after a man, at a ball, was to play him a scandalous trick, and laugh at him in a most cruel manner ! But however much we might approve our Captain's resentment, we were unwilling that he should carry it too far. We

told him so : he was going to be angry, but we begged he would not, and he listened to us. We soon got to Dover, and afterwards to London, where we arrived on the 19th.

Two days after our arrival we called at Lord Bathurst's office. We were desirous of delivering to his Lordship the letter from the Cardinal, announcing to him the departure of our little colony for St. Helena ; but his Lordship did not condescend to receive us. He sent us his Secretary, who asked us some questions relative to our departure, our arrival, and the incidents of our journey ; and promised to lay our despatches before his Lordship, and to send us an answer very shortly.

Accordingly, a few days afterwards, Abbé Buonavita received a letter, informing us that we were to hold ourselves in readiness to set off, and that we should proceed to the Cape in the first instance, there being no opportunity direct for St. Helena. Vignali could not go with us, we were told at the same time, one priest being sufficient for Bonaparte, and the Cardinal having received permission for four persons only. This determination was very unwelcome, and upset all the calculations of his Eminence ; but, fortunately, our Apostolical

Prefect succeeded in obtaining its revocation. He wrote to Lord Bathurst, representing his age and infirmities, and the orders of his Holiness the Pope forbidding all Missionaries to go singly into a country that is not Catholic. The Minister relented, gave some hopes to the old man, and granted, at last, to his grey hairs what he had refused to the Cardinal.

Nothing now remained but to set off. But the winds were contrary, there were no opportunities for St. Helena, and the ships for the Cape had already sailed. We must wait until after the weather became favourable, and we should be sent out by the first transport that sailed : such was the language held to us. Opportunities for those places occurred frequently ; we knew it : but on every occasion the Minister had received no intelligence of it, and it would have ill become us to be better informed than the Government.

Dr. O'Meara had just arrived in London. I immediately went to him, to obtain some details respecting the Emperor's situation. He told me that it was daily growing worse ; that *hepatitis* is endemic at St. Helena ; that all his cares, all the most famed remedies, had failed to arrest its progress ; and that he considered Napo-

leon's cure impossible, unless he were to be removed from the fatal influence of that climate. At his departure, he had advised him to call in Dr. Stokoe of the Conqueror; but this gentleman had scarcely paid a few visits, when the Governor had taken umbrage at it. Dr. O'Meara delivered to me Dr. Stokoe's reports, which were of the following tenor:

“ Longwood, 17th January, 1819.

“ I have visited Napoleon this morning, and found him in a state of extreme weakness. He suffered great pain in the right side, in the hepatic region, and shooting pains in the shoulder. In the middle of the night he had had a violent head-ach, followed by vertigoes, which lasted a quarter of an hour. After it was over he took a warm bath, which brought on abundant perspiration and gave him considerable relief.

“ Considering the tendency to a determination of blood to the head, I think it indispensable that a medical attendant should be constantly with him, to render in time every assistance required in a case of so grave a nature.

(Signed) “ JOHN STOKOE.”



## TO COUNT BERTRAND.

“ Longwood, 18th January, 1819.

“ Notwithstanding the symptoms of chronic hepatitis which first appeared sixteen months ago, and the disorders they have produced, I do not think there is any imminent danger. The disease assumes every day a more unfavourable character, and will, in all probability, terminate Napoleon's life. But however pernicious the influence of the climate may be, and however rapid the progress of the disease, I repeat it, I do not think there is any imminent danger.

“ The most alarming symptoms are those which were developed in the course of the night before last. If they should appear again they might produce fatal consequences, particularly if medical assistance were not at hand.

(Signed) “ JOHN STOKOE.”

“ Longwood, 19th January, 1819.

“ Yesterday, soon after my arrival at Longwood, I was requested to go to see Napoleon Bonaparte. Count Bertrand asked me the reason of my long absence ; and I told him, that as the Admiral had not received any official inti-

mation from Longwood, I had only obtained leave very late in the afternoon. I have seen the patient. The fever continued the same, the heat of the skin was considerable, the head-ache had increased, and he had had no motion for twenty-four hours. I was apprehensive of an attack similar to that which occurred in the night from Saturday to Sunday, and advised him to lose a little blood, and to take a strong purgative. He manifested repugnance to my prescriptions, and preferred an *enema*. At about three o'clock in the morning Count Bertrand sent for me, and begged me to go with him to Napoleon. The symptoms had not diminished, and the head-ach had been continually increasing. I strongly insisted upon his being bled: he consented, and experienced almost immediate relief. He also took a strong dose of Cheltenham salts.

“ On this occasion I examined the hepatic region more particularly than I had done before, and I am now convinced that the liver is seriously affected. I have consequently recommended the use of mercury, and of other medicines which agree with the constitution of the patient.

(Signed) “ JOHN STOKOE.”

“ St. Helena, 20th January, 1819.

“ SIR,

“ I have strong reasons to suppose that my visits at Longwood will be suspended, either by direct orders from my superiors, or because means will be found to render my attendance there so very unpleasant, that I shall be obliged to give it up. However that may be, if I have not the opportunity of speaking to you on a subject in which I feel extremely interested, let me request you to do all in your power to induce Napoleon to follow the course of medicine which I have prescribed for him. That alone can avert the danger that threatens him. Hepatitis, at whatever stage it may be, is a dangerous disease, particularly in a climate like that of St. Helena.

“ The obstruction of the liver, an habitual state of costiveness, and the derangement of the digestive organs, will produce a determination of blood to the head, precisely as it happened on Saturday.

“ I therefore entreat you, Sir, if I am no longer allowed to attend him, to use all your endea-

vours to obtain that Dr. Verling may be my successor at Longwood.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) “ JOHN STOKOE.”

TO COUNT BERTRAND.

“ Longwood, 21st January, 1819.

“ An hour and a half after my arrival at Longwood I saw Napoleon. The fever was slight, but the pain in the right side had increased. The purgative had produced evacuations, accompanied by violent colic. The patient had not slept well, and the pain in the side continued unabated. I advised him to take a warm bath, and left him in it. Before I went away, I insisted upon the necessity of recommending a medical treatment. I told him that I had already prepared some medicines, and that I should send him others, with proper instructions how to use them, since I could not continue my visits. He replied, that he would never take any medicine that was not administered to him by his own surgeon.

“ I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) “ JOHN STOKOE.”

These reports fixed my determination ; and without stopping at the office, or inquiring for the Secretary, I went to Lord Bathurst himself. I recalled to his mind the promises that had been made to us, and the intimation we had received from him : told him that ships were now ready to sail ; that the opportunities which he wished to avail himself of were now offering ; and that we were very anxious that they should not be allowed to escape by unnecessary delays. Those delays, I added, were doubly painful to us, for they put us to immense expenses, and exposed Napoleon to serious accidents.—“ So you think him ill ? ” — “ The reports are unanimous on that subject. ” — “ Ah ! ” . . . — “ Stokoe ! O'Meara ! ” . . . — “ Stokoe ! O'Meara ! What do they think of his complaint at Rome ? ” — “ They entertain very serious alarms. ” — “ They dread the influence of the climate ? ” — “ In the highest degree. ” — “ The penury, the privations, the bad treatment to which he is exposed ? ” — “ They anticipate all the consequences that may result from so rigorous a captivity. ” — “ Seriously ? ” — “ Undoubtedly. ” — “ Well, calm your apprehensions and those of his family ; I have

just received intelligence respecting him,—he is perfectly well.”

These last words were pronounced with an expression of truth that went to my heart; I could not contain the manifestation of my joy. His Lordship observed it, and without shewing any signs of disapprobation continued:—“ He cries out, he complains, but he has every thing he can want at St. Helena: Government supplies him with every thing in abundance; he costs us immense sums! However, be comforted; you will soon judge by your own observation whether I tell the truth.”

I should have wished to believe the intelligence, and probably his Lordship also; but the respect I already entertained for Sir Hudson Lowe could not prevail over the assertions of professional men. I resolved to take the benefit of the experience of some skilful practitioners, particularly of those who had practised within the tropics, or even at St. Helena. The publication of the posthumous works of Mascagni had given me a sort of celebrity, and I naturally found myself in social intercourse with the first men in London. All proffered their advice and assistance; every one invited me to

have recourse to him ; one and all seemed anxious to contribute to alleviate sufferings of which they deprecated the cause. I accordingly took advantage of their favourable dispositions : I addressed circular letters to them ; I laid before them the consultation which had been delivered to me, and the reports which I had received, and I requested them to give me their opinion respecting the Emperor's complaint, and to point out the means which they considered the best calculated to effect its cure. All, but particularly the venerable James Curry, so celebrated for his labours on hepatitis, answered me with a zeal and kindness that affected me most sensibly. I collected together their different opinions, and submitted them to the discussion of some physicians whose practice had been more particularly directed to the kind of disease in question. The result of their discussion was the following prescription :

“ We have deliberated upon the written and verbal statements of Doctors O'Meara and Stokoe, and think we have discovered that the disease of Napoleon is *chronic hepatitis*. That disorder almost always proceeds from acute hepatitis ; particularly when the patient, born

in another country, accustomed to other climates, is obliged to reside within the tropics; but it is also sometimes produced by local circumstances which have a tendency to disturb perspiration. Such is the case in the present instance. The relaxation of the primitive texture of the liver, added to the sudden cessation of activity in the cerebral and muscular functions, and to the debilitation of the intellectual faculties, must naturally have accelerated the progress of humoral obstruction in that organ. We can affirm that scorbutic dyscrasy does not exist yet. The mucous membranes that cover the gums, and others of the same nature, are generally the first to be affected by any irregularity of the viscera that acts directly upon the functions of chylification, sanguification, and the successive nutrition of organic parts."

The curative means to be resorted to are described in the following letter :

" SIR,

" I HAVE attentively perused the two reports which you have been kind enough to send me. If I were not convinced of the little value of an opinion formed without seeing the patient, I should be disposed to complain of



the want of information upon certain points, which I generally consider important when I wish to obtain an exact diagnostic in hepatic cases; but instead of entering into a dissertation which would appear to you useless, I think it sufficient to repeat in general terms what I have already had the pleasure of mentioning to you personally; that is, that all the experiments and observations I have made, or been able to collect, have fully convinced me that mercurial preparations are the only means by which a radical cure can be effected. Mercury is, of all medicines, that which most effectually answers our expectations, provided there be yet no organic injury; and provided it be administered with prudence, and under proper circumstances. I should not, however, wish it to be understood that I mean to exclude all other remedies, such as local bleeding, blisters, purgatives, refrigerants, &c.

“ I am afraid you will think I am entering into superfluous details with you, who as a pupil of Mascagni must know better than any body, that nothing so satisfactorily exhibits the state of an organ as the manner in which it executes its functions, if I add, that as the ordinary operation of mercurial medicines is to

stimulate the liver to perform its natural secretions, the quantity and quality of the preparation must be solely adapted to obtain that end; the appearance must point out to us the advantages already gained, and must be our sole guide in the application of the great remedy, the recommendation of which is the principal object of this letter.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ S.”

“ London—Saturday.”

One of the most distinguished pupils of Dr. Curry did not confine himself to recommending to me the use of mercurial preparations; he wished to enable me to judge by my own observation of the efficacy of this specific. For that purpose he took me to the different establishments of the capital, and gave me opportunities of witnessing the effect produced by it in cases of hepatitis and of chronic fluxes, occasioned by residence in India, or within the tropics. I experienced the same kindness and attentions from several other skilful practitioners of London. Every one communicated to me the result of his observations, and his own views and ideas on the subject. I had also

access to every museum or collection : the name of Napoleon was a passport of admittance every where ; nobody wished to appear an accomplice in the conduct of Ministers.

I had with me the introduction to and the proofs of thirty plates of the great anatomical work of Mascagni, the publication of which I had superintended. I shewed them to some physiologists, who spoke of them in the world, and curiosity was generally excited. Every body wished to see that beautiful work, and from the learned the expression of the admiration it excited found its way into the public papers. We now possessed, it was said, a topographical map,—a panorama of the human body. The frame of the edifice—the pieces which determine its form, give it grace and produce its motions—the fibres which transmit the acts of the will, the canals through which flow the humours that form the blood,—all was described, all was traced with a degree of neatness and perfection hitherto unexampled. Dissection was henceforth superfluous, and anatomy was no longer a disgusting study.

This introduction was published under the patronage of the Prince Regent, and the edi-

tors had requested me to present the dedication of it to his Royal Highness. This I did, through the medium of Lord Bathurst, to whom I again renewed our incessant request to be allowed to set off. As usual, I received the most positive promises, and the usual result followed them. Ships were continually sailing for the Cape, or St. Helena ; but his Lordship was so unlucky that he was either not apprised of it in time, or could not procure a passage.

Up to the moment of my departure I had not had any thing to do with the police,—and I had no idea that it was so timorously inclined. I could never have supposed, for instance, that anatomical plates would furnish matter for suspicion ; I thought there could be no difficulty opposed to my taking them with me ; but I found the case different. In the present age every thing conspires ; and muscles and tendons might compass the death of kings, or communicate with usurpation ! I interceded with Lord Bathurst on their behalf, and requested him to allow me to make them the companions of my exile, and to get from Europe the books that were necessary to enable me to complete the work ; but his Lord-

ship gave me an answer that was far from being satisfactory. It seemed, therefore, that suspicions existed, which it was necessary to dispel. To open a correspondence would have been a tedious process, and of doubtful issue; and I therefore adopted a more straight-forward course. I took the plates to Lord Bathurst's office, and submitted them to his inspection. His Lordship's reception was most affable: he looked at the plates, examined them minutely, and asked me several questions concerning the work itself, and the obstacles and delays that my residence at St. Helena would oppose to its publication. Several persons came in whilst his Lordship was looking at the plates, and they also expressed themselves equally gratified. The undertaking was vast, they said, and well conceived, and deserved to be patronized by the British Government. How could I abandon occupations so noble and useful, to go and reside on a miserable rock? What inconceivable infatuation!—They were Englishmen, and I am a Frenchman; we could not possibly understand each other: I therefore thanked them for their kindness, and requested his Lordship to hasten the period of our departure, which had been so often promised and deferred. My interview

with his Lordship had lasted more than an hour, and I had received the assurance that I should be allowed to take the plates with me, and that we should sail very shortly. I went away full of hope and joy. But the illusion was of short duration : I was soon assailed with offers and threats.

England abounds in first-rate practitioners, and I could not therefore suppose that there really existed any intention to secure my presence and my services; — the object was to insult Napoleon, to degrade me; and all the riches of India would have been insufficient to atone for so base an attempt.

Every endeavour to corrupt me having proved ineffectual, means were tried to bring me to commit myself. We had at last received notice to hold ourselves in readiness to depart, and I had been to take leave of some friends, and was accompanying a lady home, when I was accosted by several individuals of mean appearance, who began to load me with the most opprobrious epithets, and to vociferate abuse against the French, and against the lady who was with me. As long as they had confined their insults to me, personally, I had contained myself; but I could not suffer them to

insult a lady of respectability ; and I was on the point of giving way to a movement of anger, but my companion checked me, and led me into a neighbouring house, where I met with one of the chief magistrates. I was greatly agitated, and almost out of breath, and related to him with vehemence the insult to which I had been exposed. " You may think yourself very fortunate," said he, " that this lady perceived the snare laid for you, otherwise you might have committed yourself with those vagabonds, and been arrested and detained. Justice would have been ultimately done, and you would have had satisfaction ; but in the mean time the vessel might have sailed, and you would have lost your passage." These observations of this magistrate had the effect of pacifying me immediately ; I perceived the danger from which I had escaped, and became perfectly calm and resigned. All the agents of the police together would have been unable to provoke me.

It was the 8th of July, and our departure was fixed for the next day. We were required to sign our consent to our exile, and a promise to submit to the regulations in force at St. Helena. I should have accepted much harder conditions still, and I therefore signed

without making a single observation ; and never in my life did I give my signature with so much satisfaction. The letter from the Minister stated that we were to embark at Deptford ; but it afterwards turned out to be a mistake, and that Gravesend was the place. To Gravesend, therefore, we accordingly went. The vessel in which we were to sail was called the Snipe, and was worthy of the hands that had selected it. It was a trading brig of very inferior description, laden with flour, encumbered with large pieces of timber of every kind, and not having a clear space of two square feet. It also leaned on one side, so that we had no space in which to move : we were compelled to keep ourselves in a painful attitude during a long voyage, and we ran the risk of being upset from one moment to the other. I applied to a magistrate : he listened to us, as they all did,—made a great many promises, and kept none. The captain and his crew corresponded with the vessel ; and I concluded that he had not been selected without some motive. It appeared that my complaint to the magistrate had soured him, and I therefore resolved to be prepared to encounter his benevolence. I purchased provisions : he exclaimed against the in-



utility of the expense, in which Abbé Buonavita joined him, and he swore that his vessel was amply supplied, and that we should have every thing we could wish for during our passage. I took no notice of these observations, and continued to lay in my stock : and it was fortunate that I did so, as I soon had occasion to find out. We had to do with a man of sordid feelings, who calculated every thing, even the advantages that could be gained over the powers of the appetite. A pot of beer, some salt beef, and a fowl, which a single sailor would have easily dispatched, composed the dinner of the whole colony.

This was slight diet, no doubt ; but what was to be done ? We were assailed by storms, and he only replied to our complaints by relating stories inculcating resignation. He had observed in particular that the Apostolical Prefect was displeased. We were just leaving the Bay of Biscay, and the storm was subsiding ; he came and sat by the side of him, and related to us with apparent indifference that his usual navigation was between Alexandria and Djedda, and that he conveyed pilgrims from one of those places to the other. The Koran prescribes abstinence ; and he took care to enforce the

observance of that precept. But temperance is not generally the virtue of devotees, and these pilgrims wanted water and provisions: all the springs and all the productions of the coast would not have sufficed, had he not found out that the horsewhip, the hold, and the sea furnished him with less expensive means of putting an end to their murmurs. From that moment nobody had ever attempted to make a tavern of his ship, and all had religiously submitted to a praiseworthy abstinence. Having finished this story, he got up and went away, giving several orders to the sailors in a very loud tone of voice, and left the missionary to reflect upon what he had heard. This hint produced its due effect: from that moment the holy man found every thing good, and ceased to complain. My turn came next. The weather had become fine—a favourable wind filled our sails, and we were in sight of Mogador. Our provisions were nearly exhausted; we had no more fresh meat, vegetables, nor fermented liquors, and even our water was nearly out; so that we were on the point of finding ourselves destitute of every thing. Suffering horribly from sea-sickness, I could not myself eat any thing, and I therefore cared little about being on short commons; but

the other passengers were dying with hunger, and I could not bear to see it. I accordingly went to the captain, reproached him severely for his conduct, and summoned him to go ashore and purchase provisions. He refused, and spoke of subordination; but all the crew joined with me. I offered to purchase the provisions on my own account: he consented, and I gave him the money. I wanted to accompany him, but he obstinately refused, and persisted in going alone.

The vessel was lying-to, the motion had ceased, and I found myself better. I took advantage of that moment of calm to observe the coast and the town of Mogador. The town appeared to me ill-built and irregular, and the plain without trees or verdure: I saw nothing but sand and misery; and such is, indeed, the only prospect these desolate regions offer. The scene was, however, varied by a few dromedaries that were eating a scanty grass growing in the midst of the downs, and dragging on their wretched existence. An immense cloud of dust appeared at a distance: I took my glass, in order to ascertain what had raised it, and saw camels, asses, and beasts of burden. I was busily engaged observing this spectacle, when

the captain returned with his boat. He had brought no provisions with him, and seemed to be in a most violent passion. We tried to ascertain what could have produced it. I asked him what mishap brought him back with empty hands; but he was giving orders to tack, and did not answer me.

It was only after we were out at sea again that he told us Mogador was a horrible place; that he had not been able to dispose of his timber, and that nobody had come forward to make him any offer. "But the provisions?"—"D—— the provisions! I wanted to sell my planks."—"And it is for that purpose that you went ashore?"—"What other motive could induce me to go?"—"Starve us in this way!"—"We are now close to Cape Verd."—"Leave us without meat or biscuits!"—"The distance is less than from Babel-Mandel to Djedda."—"An immense voyage!"—"Like that from Iambo to Cosseir."—"Putrid water!"—"The Catholic religion does not command ablution."—"I understand you; you threaten, you wish to intimidate!"—"I"....—"To insinuate that the indignities to which the pilgrims were exposed, privations and dungeons, await us!"—"You exaggerate."—"You exult in the recollection

of the infamous manner in which you then behaved." — "Towards Turks." — "They were men." — "Very untractable, who would not listen to any thing, and who harangued too much: do you understand me? But what have I to do with these discussions? There is every thing on board my ship that can be desired, and the passengers whom I receive may be content with what I think sufficient for myself. You are five, and I have received two hundred pounds for you all; is it enough to entitle you to be so particular? Ought I to have paid one pound ten anchorage, in order to satisfy an inordinate appetite?"

Such was the noble motive of this pirate. He exposed his passengers and the crew of the ship to die of hunger, in order to save the expense of so large a sum! I would have given ten times that amount to relieve them from their painful situation; but it was too late: the wind continued favourable, and we were going four knots an hour; we were obliged to resign ourselves to our fate. Presently we got amongst some rocks; but fortunately the sea was calm, and our sordid captain very skilful. He sounded, tacked, steered clear of the rocks, and succeeded in extricating us

from the perilous situation into which he had thrown us. He thought to touch at the island of Goree, and it turned out to be an uncultivated shore, on which he fancied there must be a great number of savages. He, therefore, resolved to go and reconnoitre it; and taking from his cabin a few rusty swords, and guns out of order, he prepared to set out on this great expedition, at the head of four persons. The Apostolical Prefect would not remain inactive in an occurrence of so much importance; the crew were going to subdue nations; he sent Vignali to baptise them. Unfortunately, however, the conquerors and the missionary found nobody to reduce or to convert; they came back, and we were going to sail, when we saw an armed schooner bearing down upon us. It was a revenue schooner. Surprised to see a vessel on the spot where we were detained by the warlike disposition of our captain, they suspected us of fraudulent intentions, and came in chase of us. They asked us who we were, whence we came, and whither we were going. We told them, and immediately we found ourselves warmly greeted and welcomed;—we were, in fact, quite at home. I went ashore, in spite of the captain's remonstrances, to recruit myself

a little, after the fatigues and privations I had experienced.

I received the greatest civility and attention from every Frenchman in the island, and was desirous of expressing to them my gratitude for their kindness. I asked them all to dinner, and introduced to them my travelling companions, whom I had brought from the vessel. I had also invited our odious captain, but he had the discretion not to come. Shame was not the only motive that induced him to remain away; he had another: but I cared little about it, and allowed him to go on his own way. We drank to the prosperity of France, and then replenished our stock of provisions. I lodged with a Frenchman, a native of Marseilles. The dinner having taken place at his house, I was anxious to remunerate him for the expense he must have incurred, but he would not hear of it. "His mother was a Corsican, I was a Corsican, and I had been selected to be Napoleon's medical attendant. He considered himself happy in having received me under his roof."—I thought of offering him some hams, which were all that remained of the provisions I had purchased in London; and we accordingly went on board of the vessel to fetch them. But our pirate had

been beforehand with us; he had taken my hams and sold them, and had got in their stead a cargo of ducks, hogs, and sows, which were running after each other, fighting, littering, and offering a spectacle equally offensive to the sight and to the smell. This was the height of indignity; but what had we to oppose to a conduct so profoundly immoral? We were going to be out at sea again, and complaints were therefore of dangerous experiment, and experience had fully convinced us that representations were of no avail. We had, then, nothing better to do than to submit once more; and having embarked, we set all sail, and soon found ourselves off Cape Palmas. We approached the coast, and immediately saw canoes filled with people, push off, and make towards us. This was a fortunate circumstance, as we had only been able to lay in a small stock of provisions. Our captain, indeed, was provided with claret and fowls; but he intended them for the market of St. Helena, and had nothing for us. We had fallen again into our former state of destitution, and hunger again assailed us. We therefore followed, with some degree of anxiety, the progress of these canoes. They were light and rapid, narrow and long, and were guided by



men squatting down, who struck the sea with their hands and thus glided upon its surface. The slightest movement caused them to upset; but, nimble as fishes, they righted their boats again in an instant, and continued their course. We were lying-to, and they therefore soon came up to us. They appeared to be a strong, robust, well-made race of men. They brought us provisions, and we received them with all the amenity in our power. "Where are you going?" asked one of them.—"To St. Helena." The name of St. Helena struck him, he seemed petrified.—"To St. Helena!" replied he, with an accent of grief and surprise. "Is it true that he is there?"—"Who?" said the captain. The African cast upon him a look of disdain, came towards us, and repeated the question. We answered that he *was* there. He looked at us, shook his head, and pronounced at last the word "Impossible!" We looked at each other; we could not make out who that savage could be who spoke English and French, and had so high an opinion of Napoleon. "You know him?" said we.—"I have known him long since."—"You have seen him?"—"In the height of his glory."—"Often?"—"At Cairo,

in the desert, on the field of battle.”—You do not believe in his misfortunes?”—“His arm is strong, and his tongue sweet as honey; nothing can resist him.”—“He has long contended against the united efforts of all Europe.”—“Neither Europe nor the whole world can overcome such a man: Mamelukes, Pachas,—all disappeared before him; he is the god of battles.”—“Where did you then know him?”—“I have already told you; in Egypt.”—“You have served?”—“Yes, in the 21st Semi-brigade. I was at Bir-am-bar, at Samahout, at Cosseir, at Coptos,—wherever that corps was. What is become of General Belliard?”—“He is living; he has rendered his name illustrious by numerous noble actions. You also know him?”—“He commanded the 21st; he would run over the desert like an Arab; no obstacle stopped him.”—“Do you recollect General Desaix?”—“Nobody who has belonged to the expedition of Upper Egypt can ever forget him. He was brave, ardent, generous, and an admirer of ruins as well as a lover of battles. I served under him a long time.”—“As a soldier?”—“Not at first: I was a slave, and belonged to one of the sons of the king of Darfour. I was brought to Egypt,

ill-treated, and sold, and I fell into the hands of an aide-de-camp of the Just.\* They dressed me according to the European fashion, and entrusted me with some domestic offices, of which I acquitted myself to their satisfaction. The Sultan was pleased with my zeal, and attached me to his person. I afterwards became soldier and grenadier, and would have shed the last drop of my blood for him. But Napoleon cannot be at St. Helena!"—"His misfortunes are, however, but too certain. Lassitude, disaffection, plots . . . ."—"All disappeared before him. A word rewarded us for our fatigues. As soon as we saw him our wishes were fulfilled, and fear was banished from our minds."—"Have you fought under him?"—"I had been wounded at Coptos, and was sent to Lower Egypt, and I was at Cairo when Mustapha appeared. The army then marched; I followed it, and was present at Aboukir. What precision, what quickness of perception, what brilliant charges! Oh! it is impossible that Napoleon should have been beaten,—that he should be at St. Helena."

Seeing that this man persisted in his incre-

\* A name given by the Egyptians to General Desaix.

dulity, we did not insist : he cherished his illusion, and we did not wish to destroy it. We gave him some tobacco, some powder, a few clothes, and other trifles, which were of some value amongst his countrymen ; and he left us quite pleased, speaking about the 21st Semi-brigade and its officers, and about the generals under whom he had served ; and protesting that it was impossible that so great a man as Napoleon should be at St. Helena.

We had taken in reefs as it blew fresh, but we were fearful of being soon becalmed ; we therefore spread all our canvass, and passed the Gulf of Guinea and the line ; on which occasion we went through all the accustomed ablutions and ceremonies. But the sea soon grew very rough ; our rigging was much strained, and the vessel leaked in every direction. We made no way : the heat was suffocating ; and ducks, pigs, and ourselves, were all pell-mell together, weltering in filth. Sickness soon made its appearance, and Abbé Buonavita was at the last extremity, whilst our dainty captain was gorging himself with a certain dish relished by the Romans. Our passage was longer than he had expected, and

his provision of poultry was nearly exhausted : he bethought himself of turning to account the poor sows that were fast dying with hunger, and distributed them to the crew, reserving for himself the little pigs half-formed, which they had not yet littered. He thought that disgusting mess delicious ; he praised it, he extolled it, and wished to make us all partakers of his pleasures. He was tormented with cholic, and wanted my assistance ; I was therefore the first whom he honoured with an invitation. “ Come,” said he, “ it is a most exquisite dish : we will have them fried ; we will make little pies of them ! All the crew . . . .” I did not give him time to finish his sentence ; an involuntary movement told him my thoughts. He left me, murmuring in an under-tone the polite epithet of “ French dog !”

It was the 10th of September. The labour of the pump, the heat of the weather, indigestions, gave the sailors no respite ; they were extenuated—even the captain himself could hardly support himself. He was less insolent and sordid ; he no longer spoke of the insults which he had offered to the Turks on board his ship ; he only aspired to reach our destination. All of a sudden he thought he perceived it :

we were, he said, off St. Helena ; he made his observations, and was certain of it. Unfortunately, however, he proved himself less skilful as an astronomer than as a purveyor : St. Helena disappeared during the night ; when daylight came there were no traces of it to be seen ;—in fact, it was only in the course of the morning of the 18th that we actually did see it.

What an inauspicious aspect it presented from afar ! What masses of cragged and barren rocks ! What a residence ! But there was the Emperor ; there English cruelty persecuted its victim with relentless fury ! There the Sovereigns of Europe were taking revenge upon that great man for the errors of his generosity. We were going to tread the same soil, to breathe the same air : could *we* complain of sharing the fate of the master of the world ?

We were extremely impatient to land ; but not so Sir Hudson Lowe. It was necessary to lay a snare for us, and he wanted a few hours to meditate how to do it. He sent us word that we could not enter the port immediately ; but that we should be admitted the next morning at day-break. I enquired how Napoleon was : “ Very well, quite well ! ” answered Sir

Hudson's messengers: "He enjoys excellent health; he is better than we are!" They withdrew, and we saw several boats come and row about the ship. I was not deceived by this sort of stratagem, but I felt a curiosity to know precisely the truth. "What do these boats want?" said I to the captain. "They are fishing-boats."—"Probably the men have fish; ask them to sell us some." He asked them, but they had not yet cast their nets. My question had disconcerted them, and they went away. It is impossible to foresee every thing; besides, men of that stamp were not calculated to baffle the plots that we might have formed: the glory of intercepting a letter, or a scrap of paper,—of insuring, in a word, the repose of the world,—belonged to his Excellency, or to Reade, or Gorrequer!

As we had not entrusted any thing to the fishermen of Sir Hudson, it was clear that all the plan of the conspiracy was about our persons. Increased vigilance was therefore used; and before we entered the port we were examined, searched, and placed under the *surveillance* of officers sent on board. But all these precautions did not prevent communication, not from us, nor through us, but through our

worthy Captain, who, however, was not the wiser for it. Some wag had delivered to him at Deptford seventeen sealed copies of a religious work, addressed to different inhabitants of St. Helena. I had judged from its size that this was not a biblical production, and I even thought I knew what it was ; but our pirate had been paid for the freight of it, and it was not my business to advise him to detain it. He therefore took the books out of the box one by one, and sent them on shore through the officer on duty. So much the better ! The inhabitants of St. Helena would now become more Anglican. Whilst these people were engaged in disseminating the word of God in the island, his Excellency had read Lord Bathurst's dispatch, and had sent us one of his officers to authorize us to land, and to accompany us to his Excellency's, who expressed a wish to see us. We accordingly went to Plantation-house, where we were received with a degree of kindness and politeness that filled us with astonishment. Sir Hudson introduced us to the Adjutant-general, to the Major, and to every individual at St. Helena that enjoyed his confidence. He was attentive and affable, and seemed to take the liveliest interest in even the



most trifling incidents of our passage. He spoke of Ajaccio, told us that he had resided there; that he liked the Corsicans, that they are generous and brave; and that he was certain we should live upon the best terms together. Had we but said a word, his Excellency would have hanged our corsair, for the sake of concord: but we had now nothing more to do with him; we had no longer to fear that he would offer to make us eat certain pies.... He was now going to be in the hands of his Excellency, and that was quite enough.

Doctor Verling came in from Longwood, and Sir Hudson introduced me to him. I thought he had succeeded Stokoe, and I therefore asked him how Napoleon was. "Napoleon!" said he, consulting the eyes of the Governor to know what answer he was to make. His Excellency relieved him from his embarrassment, by telling me that Dr. Verling did not attend General Bonaparte, but General Montholon. The Doctor felt that his visit was ill-timed, and withdrew. After he had left us, his Excellency continued to hold forth respecting the good dispositions which he concluded we brought to St. Helena, the advantages we should find in it, and the pleasure he should

have in rendering our residence there agreeable. Dinner was served: Sir Hudson insisted upon our staying, and Reade, Gorrequer, and himself vied with each other in politeness and attention towards us. But Corsica was still the prevailing subject of their conversation. Men born there possessed a greater degree of courage and sagacity than elsewhere; they formed a more correct judgment of circumstances and events—they yielded with a better grace to necessity. Besides, what was there so unpleasant in the island? The climate was good, the air healthy, the temperature tolerable. The variation between James Town and Longwood was not more than eight or ten degrees, and the range of the excursions of the thermometer did not exceed from sixty-five to ninety.

Sir Hudson related all this with an air of so much simplicity, that it was necessary to recollect that we were his prisoners, to find patience enough to listen to him. I affected not to understand him; and he then turned the conversation upon General Bonaparte, blamed his pride and his stubbornness, and complained bitterly of one of his protests.\* And there was indeed

\* That of the 2d of August, 1815; for which see *Las Cases*, Part V. Vol. iii. p. 241 to 254.

matter for complaint; the document was too vehement; his Excellency deserved to be more respectfully treated.

The dinner over, and Sir Hudson having given vent to his ill humour, we prepared to go to Longwood: but we might be the bearers of letters, manuscripts or plans, and nothing of that kind could be allowed to be introduced there without having been submitted to M. Gorrequer's inspection. He informed us of it, and apologized; but he was, he said, a sworn enemy to correspondences, and waged war against them without mercy. We immediately emptied our pockets, and opened our pocket-books; Cerberus relented, and we passed: but he might have required us to undress if he had thought proper! Gorrequer having done with us, Reade's turn came; and he was not so easily satisfied, but opened and examined one by one every article in our possession. This great operation over, we got into a carriage, and entered on a most frightful road. Wherever we looked, we saw nothing but sentries and precipices: on one side was a deep abyss, on the other a stern-looking soldier. We proceeded thus amidst the precautions of war and the convulsions of nature, and never before had we seen so gloomy a spectacle.

At last we reached Longwood, and went to General Bertrand's; but he was with the Emperor. His Majesty had just received newspapers from London, and was perusing the columns of the *Morning Chronicle*, which spoke of me. He found there abundance of praise bestowed on the anatomist, but not a word about the physician; and he concluded that I was altogether a stranger to the profession, "a kind of Cuvier, to whom he would give his horse for dissection, but not trust the cure of his own foot." Such were the dispositions in which he was, when our arrival was announced to him. "Go," said he to the Grand Marshal, "and see what men they have sent me: observe particularly the physiologist."—Bertrand accordingly came out to us; but he had an appearance of restraint: he told Buonavita to follow him, and requested us to wait.

I did not know what to make of such a singular reception, and remained petrified with astonishment; and Vignali felt no less surprised. The General soon appeared again, and I followed him into an adjoining room. He requested me to sit down, and asked me how long it was since I had left Rome; whether I knew the Emperor's family; how were Madame Mère, the Cardinal, Lucien, Pauline, &c.; how it had happened that

I had been selected to come out to St. Helena, in what capacity I came, where I had practised, whether I had any letter or message for Napoleon from his family, what motive had induced me to leave Italy for this rock; whom I had seen on my way from Rome to London, what persons I had frequented in the latter capital, and what had been said to me. Having replied to all these questions, I had the honour of being introduced to the Countess, who was conversing with Dr. Verling and Abbé Buonavita. She received me very kindly, and asked me some questions relative to the countries we had passed through. Vignali's turn came next; and he having gone through the same ordeal of interrogatories, introduction, and reception, supper was served to us, and we were afterwards shown into our apartments. I was beginning to undress when Count Bertrand came once more, and requested me to go to General Montholon, who had something to say to me. I went, and listened to what he said, utterly at a loss to account for the motive of so strange an interview. I however soon recovered my presence of mind, and replied, that a noble feeling of pride had alone prompted me to come to St. Helena; that I had been inspired with the ambition of becoming useful

to the greatest man of the age ; that no sacrifice had been considered too great to serve the Emperor ; and that if my services were not agreeable, I would make another, by embarking for Europe immediately. Having said this, I withdrew into my apartment ; but fatigue and sleep were gone, —the interview had banished both. I met in my ante-chamber the cook Chandelier, who having no room yet, asked me to allow him to pass the night there. I could not close my eyes, and was curious to know whether he had met with the same kind of reception as I had. He told me in reply to my questions, that he had been welcomed by his comrades ; but that they had asked him numerous questions concerning our journey, the persons we had seen, and the news we had heard. He added, that the Emperor had sent for him and Coursaut, and had enquired of them what was said at Rome of the choice of the physician and of the priests, what they had seen and heard of them at London, and what houses they frequented in that capital. It was now evident that I excited mistrust and suspicions, and that my character had been misrepresented ; but how that had been done, was what I could not understand. Day appeared, and I found myself calmer, and resolved to wait pa-

tiently until the mystery should be unravelled. In the course of the morning I had a third visit from Count Bertrand. He begged me to give him a detailed written report, stating the place of my birth, my age, my family, and the towns where I had studied; and asked me how long and where I had practised, whether I had been attached to any service, and to what branch of the profession I had applied more particularly. I immediately drew up the statement required, and sent it to him, together with my diplomas, my papers, and the Cardinal's letter. Buonavita and Vignali were also obliged to produce a similar summary.

This was a sad reception after having travelled so far: but his Eminence in the midst of his grave occupations had not been able to devote a few moments to write either to the Emperor or to the Grand Marshal, and not any individual of the Emperor's family had made up for his neglect. Added to this the circumstance of our being sent by the English Government, recommended by the English Minister, and graciously received by the Governor, and there was more than enough to awaken suspicion. Another circumstance also concurred to give to the whole affair the appearance of an intrigue. The Cardinal

who had not had time to give us a letter of introduction, had however found leisure enough to concert the means of making Vignali Napoleon's physician ; and to write to Count Las Cases for that purpose, requesting him to recommend the missionary to the Emperor. But Las Cases did not think proper to transform a priest into a physician, and contented himself with giving the Cardinal's letter to the Abbé, who had hastened to deliver it, little foreseeing the effect it would produce. Ultimately, however, every thing was arranged ; we were Frenchmen and Corsicans, and could not in that double capacity be the agents of England. Napoleon therefore admitted us into his service.

This point settled, I prepared to fetch my baggage, which had remained on board ; and Sir Hudson Lowe having so strongly protested that we should be allowed freely to go about the island, I thought of going alone ; but the officer on duty at Longwood had received orders, and I was obliged to accept his offer to accompany me. I therefore went on board the Snipe closely watched, and every one of my movements strictly observed ; but what was my surprise on finding our excellent captain in precisely the same situation !—"What, guards ! Captain," said I to him.



“How is this? what accident has happened?”—  
 “Oh that \* \* \* \* of a Governor!”—“What, Sir Hudson? Well...”—“He prevents me from going ashore and selling my goods.”—“For what reason? How have you offended him?”—“My pigs and my claret disappear!”—“And your ducks?”—“Eat more than they are worth.”—“But once more, what fault have you committed?”—“Those cursed books!”—“What, those religious tracts?”—“Religious, indeed! It is a treacherous snare, downright murder. Look at those pigs, at those planks; what a loss!”—“But those works were on pious subjects!”—“You thought so, and so did I when I took them; but it turns out that they are the books that cursed O’Meara has written against the Governor.”—I left him bewailing his fate, and having landed my luggage, I returned to Longwood. All doubts and suspicions were now dispelled, and I received the following letter from Count Bertrand, informing me that I was appointed surgeon in ordinary to the Emperor:—

“Longwood, 22d September, 1819.

“M. ANTOMMARCHI,

“The Emperor accepts you as his surgeon, and allows you a salary of nine thousand francs

a-year. Your functions will commence as soon as you shall have taken the oath; for which purpose I request you will call upon me at a quarter past two.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your very obedient humble Servant,

“ CÔUNT BERTRAND.”

I accordingly repaired to the Grand Marshal's at the appointed hour, and made the engagement required of me. I was not to communicate or say any thing to the English, and I was to take especial care not to give them the least information respecting the progress of Napoleon's disorder. All I had myself heard and experienced, had taught me what people we had to deal with, and had not disposed me to be very confiding with them: I therefore swore that I would not repeat or communicate any thing; and I had the honour of being introduced to his Majesty.

The room was small and very dark, and Napoleon was in his bed, so that at first I did not see him. I approached silently, with a kind of religious awe: he perceived it, and addressing himself to me most graciously,—“ Approach,

*“Capo Corsinaccio,”*\* said he in Italian, the language he ever afterwards used in our conversation, “approach, that I may see you more distinctly; and above all that I may hear you better, for on this miserable rock I am become quite deaf.”—I approached, and Napoleon having cast upon me a look which seemed rather favourable, “I have,” continued he, “been very near your country in my youthful days. I landed not far from Morsiglia, at the port of Macinajo; from thence I went to Rogliano, where I saw a fine house painted after the Genoese fashion,—to Tomino and to Porticciolo. I was on my way to Bastia; but, will you believe it? I had the greatest trouble in the world in finding a horse and a man willing to accompany me. I, however, succeeded at last. The skeleton of a horse they gave me could hardly stand on its legs; but it was accustomed to the steep and rugged roads we had to pass, and I found it extremely useful. I arrived at Bastia: I was very well satisfied with my guide, and he had no reason to be dissatisfied with me.

“The Cape is the most sterile part of all Corsica; and yet its inhabitants are the best

\* Cape-Corsican,—inhabitant of the Cape of Corsica.

“ husbandmen and the most industrious traders  
“ in the whole island. Poor but intelligent, bad  
“ soldiers but excellent sailors, they are in general  
“ sober, peaceable, and honest. They enjoy pro-  
“ found peace, even when other districts are a  
“ prey to the most violent agitation. Their man-  
“ ners and habits are quite different from those of  
“ our countrymen who live in the mountains; and  
“ they tremble before the latter, and not without  
“ cause. The mild and placid disposition of the  
“ inhabitant of the plain cannot cope with the  
“ haughtiness and impetuosity of the mountain-  
“ eer. Generally speaking, your countrymen are  
“ poor : they work hard, they exhaust themselves  
“ in endeavouring to fertilize their soil, or rather  
“ their rocks ; but their labour produces very  
“ little, and they find it difficult to earn a sub-  
“ sistence. My countrymen, on the contrary,  
“ fatigue themselves but little, or not at all ;  
“ and if they are not rich, they at least lead a  
“ quiet, independent life, running about with  
“ their gun on their shoulder. But this is  
“ saying quite enough of a country which I  
“ shall never see again. How long is it since  
“ you were in Corsica?”—“ Two years, Sire.”—  
“ How old are you?”—“ About thirty.”—“ Oh !  
“ oh ! you might be my son. If I had known

“ your mother, I should have left Macinajo,  
“ and landed at Morsiglia.”—“ At Centuri ?”—  
“ Right, at Centuri : there is no port at Mor-  
“ siglia. Is your mother still alive ?”—“ No,  
Sire, she died when I was yet in infancy.”—  
“ Was she pretty, graceful, bewitching ?”—  
“ She was a pretty woman, and an excellent  
mother.” —“ Just the thing ! Oh I should  
“ certainly have landed at Centuri, and should  
“ have gone to Morsiglia to pay my court to an  
“ amiable *Capo Corsina*, to Madame Antom-  
“ marchi. How old is your father ?”—“ He is  
near seventy.”—“ He is a notary : Does he  
“ sometimes, like his worthy colleagues, make  
“ false acts, or forge wills ?” I did not answer :  
he repeated the question, laughing louder.—  
“ My father enjoys the esteem and confidence  
of the whole district wherein he lives.”—“ Oh,  
“ if that is the case, there is nothing to be  
“ said. Do you remember the period when I  
“ conquered Italy for the first time ?”—“ I have  
a vague recollection of it.”—“ What enthusiasm !  
“ what acclamations ! what universal demon-  
“ strations of joy ! The population crowded to  
“ meet me : I was their god, their idol ; and they  
“ have remained faithful to me. Probably you  
“ scarcely remember, for you were then so young,

“ my expedition to Egypt, my arrival and landing at Ajaccio, and at Frejus, and the transports of joy with which I was greeted?”—“ I recollect your unexpected appearance, which changed the face of Europe. I listened with admiration to what was related to me of General Bonaparte, and of the miracles he had performed. Your health was drunk, Sire, and the most ardent wishes were formed for your success. I have preserved a perfect recollection of the impression produced on my mind by the exultation of a whole nation, which had rested all its hopes in you.”—“ How old were you when you quitted Corsica?”—“ About fifteen.”—“ There are at Leghorn some very rich *Capo Corsini*.”—“ Yes, Sire ; some are become patricians, others have been made noblemen : the Grand Duke has treated them very well.”—“ You studied at Pisa?”—“ I commenced my studies at Leghorn, and continued them at Pisa and Florence.”—“ At what period?”—“ I was received a Doctor in Philosophy and Medicine at the University of Pisa in the month of March, 1808 ; I afterwards went to Florence, where I applied myself to anatomical researches, and was attached to the hospital of St. Marie-Neuve. In 1812 I obtained from the Imperial

University the diploma of surgeon ; and the president appointed me Anatomical Prosector, attached to the Academy of Pisa.\* I resided in that capacity at Florence, where I practised until my departure.”—“ Was the Grand Duchess “ Eliza beloved in Tuscany?”—“ She was both loved and feared.”—“ Did she do any thing to “ conciliate the affection of her subjects?”—“ She cherished the fine arts, extended her protection to science, and governed solely with a view to the public welfare.”—“ She was adored “ at Lucca, where she had formed good and useful establishments. I believe she is very rich. “ The Tuscans have been pleased to see their “ former Grand Duke again ; do you not think “ so?”—“ His sway is very mild, and he is beloved by the people whom he governs.”—“ With the exception of the speculators of Leghorn, to whom nothing comes amiss, the Tuscans are an excellent people ; enlightened, industrious, skilled in agriculture, they occupy “ the finest country of Italy. But what motive “ has prompted you to forsake the delightful “ residence of Florence, your patrons, your “ employment, your occupations, for this mise-

\* See note at p. 3.

“ rable rock ? What considerations have induced you to come and share my exile ? ” — “ Your Majesty may have presaged : I seek neither gold nor favours ; I have set no price on my services, I have stipulated no conditions. It was proposed to me to approach your person, and that glory sufficed me : I desire no other reward. ” — “ But why, before you agreed to the proposal of your friend Colonna, did you not secure to yourself a competency from my family ? ” — “ Pecuniary advantages are inadequate compensations in my mind ; glory alone could determine me. ” — “ Glory is a very fine thing ; but if, as it very nearly happened, you had been sent away, what would you have done ? In what an embarrassing situation you would have found yourself ! ” — “ Such a reception would have deeply affected me ; but still I should have the satisfaction of having been on this miserable rock. My profession would every where have placed me above want : my only regret would have been to see my actions misjudged, and my motives misunderstood. ” — “ You are a Corsican, and that consideration has saved you ; but still you might not have suited me — you might have been dismissed ; and if so, what would have



“ been the consequence of your imprudent com-  
“ pliance ?”—“ These reflections are just ; but  
they did not occur to me.”—“ Your lucky star  
“ has made all right. But I am sorry this  
“ affair was entrusted to the Cardinal, and that  
“ he has behaved as he has done. I ask him  
“ to send me a surgeon, and he selects you : you  
“ are young, but still he selects you ; and at  
“ the same time he writes a letter to Las  
“ Cases, which the priests have delivered to me,  
“ in which he insists upon my employing Vignali  
“ only : and yet I am very certain Vignali has  
“ not studied more than three years, though he  
“ himself told me four. I must confess that  
“ letter displeased me exceedingly. Neither  
“ my mother nor the Cardinal has written to  
“ inform me of your departure, and I mistrusted  
“ every individual composing your expedition.  
“ You must have felt surprised and hurt at the  
“ repeated visits of the Grand Marshal, and at  
“ the questions he addressed to you.”—“ Very  
much indeed, Sire: I felt confused and hum-  
bled. I could not account for the existence  
of the suspicions entertained against me.”—  
“ Think no more about it ; you shall be my  
“ surgeon ; consider me as your father. I have  
“ informed Abbé Vignali, that I will not allow

“ him to practise at Longwood. He shall not  
“ try his skill upon any body, not even the  
“ lowest Chinese. Let him apply himself to  
“ his ecclesiastical duties—that is his profession.  
“ I have told him this through the medium of  
“ his superior, Buonavita, an excellent old man,  
“ whom I scarcely saw—at Elba. I very much  
“ fear he is come out here to be buried. I re-  
“ commend him to your care; he deserves our  
“ good will and protection. I have blamed him  
“ very much for having accepted the Cardinal’s  
“ proposal; at his age, infirm and feeble as he is,  
“ a man should not undertake so long and perilous  
“ a voyage. After having pondered a long while  
“ the Archbishop sends me a very respectable  
“ man, no doubt, but one so broken with age  
“ and infirmities that he cannot be of any ser-  
“ vice to me. The Grand Duke must have been  
“ delighted to see a person, employed in his ser-  
“ vice, come out to try the resources of his art in  
“ administering relief to me on this rock.”—“ I  
should suppose so, Sire; you have been so  
kind to him.”—“ I was very well acquainted  
“ with him. Maria Louisa was partial to him,  
“ and he was not insensible to the charms of  
“ the Queen of Naples. I have always consi-  
“ dered him a worthy prince. How long did

“you remain at Rome?”—“About two months.”  
—“You had time to know that city well. I  
“am really sorry not to have seen it. I in-  
“tended to restore it to its former splendour, to  
“make it the capital of Italy; but fate had  
“ordered otherwise. Part of my family re-  
“sides there. The Pope is a good old man,  
“whom I have always treated well. Now  
“speak to me candidly; give me some intelli-  
“gence respecting my relations; begin by Ma-  
“dame Mère, La Signora Letizia.”—“She is not  
disheartened by adversity; she bears it with  
courage, resignation, and dignity.”—“Does she  
“receive company? does she go out in the  
“world? What kind of a life does she lead?”—  
“A very retired life: the circle of her ac-  
quaintance is very small—it consists of a few  
intimate friends only. Those of her children  
who are at Rome are very attentive to her; but  
all her wishes, all her thoughts, are at St.  
Helena: she only waits for a single word to  
brave the dangers of the sea, and fold you in her  
arms.”—“She has been all her life an excellent  
“woman, a mother unequalled; she has always  
“loved me most tenderly. When you left  
“her she was very much affected, was she not?”  
—“At first she could scarcely suppress her

emotion, but she soon recovered and shewed a courage and strength of mind quite superhuman."—"I am certain she would not have dreaded the fatigues you have undergone. "Does she frequent any society?"—"She goes sometimes to his Eminence."—"Does the Cardinal see her frequently?"—"Several times every day."—"And her sons?"—"Almost every day."—"And Pauline?"—"Not so often; her indisposition keeps her at home."—"What do you think of her complaint?"—"I do not know the nature of it."—"You know perfectly well every individual of my family residing at Rome, do you not? Pray how are they? What do they say about me?"—"All their thoughts are centred in St. Helena; they only aspire after your deliverance."—"State to me with precision all that every one of them has commissioned you to say to me. What did my mother say?"—"That she herself, her children, and her fortune, are at your disposal; that on the slightest intimation, she would give up all she possesses, even though she should endure the greatest misery."—"And Prince Canino?"—"That he had arranged with Joseph, that they should each of them come and spend three years with your Majesty, if you

did not disapprove of it.”—“And Pauline?”—  
“That she only awaited the orders of your Majesty to hasten to you.”—“We will think of it.” He smiled, and remained silent for a few minutes, and then added,—“No; I shall not  
“allow any of the members of my family to  
“come and expose themselves to the insults of  
“the English, and witness the indignities offered  
“to me by this \*\*\*\*. It is quite enough that I  
“am obliged to endure them.” Then suddenly passing to another subject—“Is La Signora Letizia fresh as ever?”—“She still looks very well.”—“And Pauline, is she still young and  
“handsome?”—“She is.”—“She never had  
“any other occupation but dress and pleasure.  
“Do Louis and Lucien meet?”—“Frequently, at the house of Madame Mère.”—“Do they  
“receive company at home?”—“Prince Canino has a few select friends, but Louis leads a life of retirement.”—“They say he is very much  
“given to devotion, do you believe it?”—“I have heard it: he is even thought a bigot.” The Emperor laughed: “What do you think  
“of his health?”—“It is in a most deplorable state; remedies are henceforth unavailing.”—  
“What a handsome young man he was at the  
“time of my first expedition in Italy! He has

“ been lost by his timidity. How unfortunate  
“ it was that I was not informed in time! He  
“ would have preserved his health, he would  
“ have fulfilled his destiny, his sufferings would  
“ not have rendered him incapable of following  
“ the path of glory, and he would have shared  
“ in our triumphs. How many sons has Prince  
“ Canino ?”—I told him. “ How many daugh-  
“ ters ?”—I told him also. “ Whom did you see  
“ whilst you were at Rome ?”—I named all the  
persons whose society I had frequented in that city.  
“ Is the Cardinal still an admirer of pictures ?  
“ Does he still seek after them ?”—“ He receives  
every morning coaches full of them, he examines  
them in his anti-room, purchases some and un-  
derrates the others. It is a fancy which costs  
him immense sums of money.”—“ When did  
“ you leave Rome ?”—“ The 25th of February.”  
—“ How did you travel ?”—“ By short stages  
in a coach which took us as far as Antwerp.”—  
“ Did Madame Letizia give you a great deal  
“ of money ?”—“ Two hundred Napoleons, and  
a draft for twelve thousand francs on her banker  
in London.”—“ She is, I believe, the richest of  
“ the family. I used always to reproach her for  
“ being too moderate in her expenses. Do you  
“ know whether she expends much in charities

“ at Rome?”—“ I do not.”—“ Did you see  
“ Maria Louisa when you passed through  
“ Parma?”—“ She had left Parma, and we  
were strictly enjoined not to make the object  
of our mission known.”—“ Do you know whe-  
“ ther she was in correspondence with my  
“ mother, or some of my family?”—“ Madame  
Mère has written to her twice, but without  
receiving any answer.”—“ Because she is not  
“ allowed to answer. Who are the persons you  
“ have seen during the course of your journey?”  
I named them, and stated to him what they  
had said to me. “ Did you see at Frankfort  
Princess Julia?”—“ She received me with that  
kindness and affability which are natural to  
her.”—“ How are her two daughters?”—“ Tall,  
handsome, and fresh as roses.”—“ One of them  
“ is, I believe, going to be married to one of  
“ Lucien’s sons; have you not heard any thing  
“ about it?”—“ The Princess asked me several  
questions respecting the eldest son, and I easily  
guessed the motive of so lively an interest.”—  
“ I must confess that such a marriage—would  
“ please me. So you were well received?”—“ I  
could not have been better.”—“ She has more  
“ delicacy of feeling and sentiment than any  
“ woman I know; and it is impossible to have

“ a better heart. You have seen Las Cases ? ” —  
“ Yes, Sire. ” — “ How is he ? ” — “ He is seriously ill. ” — “ Have you seen his son Emanuel ? ” —  
“ He was at Strasburg. ” — “ The Priests have  
“ told me, if I recollect right, that you had  
“ not met with any obstacle on your way from  
“ Rome to London ? ” — “ None whatever, Sire. ”  
— “ When did you arrive in London ? ” — “ On  
the 19th of April. ” — “ How long did you re-  
“ main there ? ” — “ We left it only on the 9th  
of July. ” — “ Whom did you see there more  
“ particularly ? ” — “ Physicians and professional  
men, chiefly those who have practised within  
the tropics. ” — “ When did you call upon Lord  
“ Bathurst ? ” — “ Two days after our arrival. ” —  
“ What questions did he ask you ? ” — “ He spoke  
to us about Rome, the Cardinal, Madame Mère,  
Prince Canino; and asked if they really believed  
that you were ill. ” — “ What did you reply ? ” —  
“ That there could be no doubt on that subject,  
“ and that the reports of O'Meara and Stokoe  
“ did not admit of any. ” — “ What did he say to  
“ that ? ” — “ That those reports were not correct;  
that he had just received positive intelligence  
that you enjoyed perfect health; and that  
we might write to Rome, and communicate  
that intelligence. ” — “ How many times did



“you see him.”—“Three or four.”—“Did you go  
“to see Lord Holland?”—“Yes; Prince Canino  
had given me a letter of introduction to his  
Lordship.”—“Were you well received? Did  
“Lady Holland receive you well?”—“Perfectly  
well.”—“Does his Lordship live in London, or  
“in the country?”—“He resides at a short  
distance from the capital.”—“You saw O’Meara  
“frequently, did you not?”—“Every day.”—  
“What did he say to you about me and my  
“disorder?”—I recapitulated to him the con-  
tents of the reports.—“Is he satisfied with  
“me?”—“Perfectly, Sire.”—“Relate to me in  
“detail all that you saw and did during your  
“residence in London; name the persons you  
“became acquainted with, and those you fre-  
“quented.”—I gave him the desired account:  
he afterwards continued his questions. “Lon-  
“don is a very large city, is it not?”—“It is;  
and as remarkable for its population as for its  
size.”—“Have you been at Paris?”—“I have  
never been in France.”—“Enough. Now go  
“and see General Montholon; ask for the  
“doctor who attends him, and consult with  
“him before he is recalled. Enquire also what  
“other persons he attended, in order that you  
“may visit them after he is gone. Ascertain

“ what are the diseases prevalent in this climate,  
“ and particularly on the spot where we are,  
“ and do not forget to ask the doctor what  
“ curative method he adopts. This island is  
“ quite another world; you require the advice  
“ of those who have studied it. I have con-  
“ stantly refused to see your predecessor; but I  
“ nevertheless think him capable of giving you  
“ every information necessary to ensure success  
“ in the exercise of your profession. Try to  
“ persuade him to remain a few days longer,  
“ that you may acquire all the information it is  
“ essential for you to obtain.”

After a few hours had elapsed I was again sent for. The Emperor was in his drawing-room, where a single wax-candle hardly gave sufficient light to distinguish the objects. He came towards me, took me by the ears, and said laughing, “ You thought I had lost all my strength  
“ in this horrible climate !” I was struck with astonishment and remained motionless, when I heard some person laugh close to me. I looked round and saw it was the Grand Marshal, who was standing behind us near the fire-place. Napoleon asked me some questions relative to the subjects we had been conversing upon a few hours before; and then began to speak about

anatomy, physiology, and the phenomena of generation. His observations were learned, just, and precise, abounding with new views and ideas on the subjects he was discussing. He made me undergo a rigorous examination in the shape of a conversation which lasted above an hour. I was fortunate enough to answer his questions in a manner that satisfied him, and he expressed his satisfaction in very kind and highly flattering terms, after which he bade me retire. Count Bertrand was present during this long interview, but did not say a single word.

23d. Sept.—I went to see the Emperor, and found him lying on a camp bed. The room was lighted so that I could observe the progress of the disorder. His ear was hard, his complexion unhealthy, his eyes livid, the white part of the eye\* of a reddish hue tinged with yellow, the whole body excessively fat, and the skin very pale. I examined the tongue, and found it slightly covered with a whitish substance. He was seized with violent and prolonged sneezing, sometimes accompanied by a dry cough, followed by a viscous expectoration; the nature of which varied from one moment to the other. The

\* Conjunctiva.

nostrils were discoloured and obstructed; the secretion of saliva abundant at intervals, and the abdomen rather hard. Pulse low but regular, giving about sixty pulsations per minute. All these symptoms appeared to me alarming. I examined more minutely, and observed that part of the left lobe of the liver, which corresponds to the epigastric region, was hard and painful on being touched. The vesicle of the bile was full, resisting pressure and projecting outwards in the right hypogastric region, near the cartilage of the third false rib. Vague pains on the right side about the regions of the loins and ribs; fixed pain more or less acute round the breast, and sensation of extreme uneasiness in the right shoulder: on pressing the pit of the stomach,\* breathing was rendered more difficult. Napoleon also complained of a pain which varied in intensity, and which had long affected the right hypochondriac region. It was internal, and he endeavoured to indicate precisely the seat of it, by saying it was *at the depth of two inches*. For some days past he had been without appetite, with frequent nausea and vomiting, sometimes acrid, sometimes bilious.

\* Anticardium or Scrobiculus cordis.

The urinary evacuations though frequent were natural, and abundant perspirations took place every day.

Whilst I was analyzing these symptoms, the Emperor's questions were unceasing. They were sometimes gloomy, and sometimes enlivened by pleasantry. Goodness, indignation, and merriment were alternately expressed by his words and in his countenance. "Well, " Doctor," said he, " what do you think of it ? " Am I yet destined to disturb for a long time " the digestion of the rulers of the earth ?"— " You will outlive them, Sire."—" I think so : " they will not succeed in putting the fame of " our victories under the ban of Europe ; it " will be handed down from age to age ; it will " proclaim the conquerors and the conquered— " those that were generous, and those that " were not ; and posterity will judge: I do not " dread its decisions."—" The glory of your life is immutably secured, Sire ; and your name will never excite the admiration of the world, without recalling to mind at the same time the recollection of those inglorious warriors so basely united together against a single man. But you are not yet near the term of your existence—

you have still a long space before you.”—“No,  
“ Doctor ; the work of England is fast hastening  
“ to its consummation ; I cannot last long in  
“ this horrible climate.”—“ Your excellent constitution, Sire, will resist its pernicious effects.”  
—“ The strength of my constitution was equal  
“ to the strength of mind with which nature  
“ has gifted me ; but the passage from a life of  
“ so much activity to one of complete reclusion  
“ has destroyed it. I am grown fat, I have lost  
“ all energy ; the spring is unbent.” I did not  
seek to combat an opinion unfortunately too  
well founded, but changed the subject of the  
conversation, and having recourse to one of  
those transitions of which I already knew the  
effect, I began to discourse upon the hopes and  
expectations of Europe, and asked Napoleon  
whether he would betray his own glory, and  
become an accomplice in the criminal deed that  
England was perpetrating on his person.—  
“ Well, be it so,” said he ; “ I like your frank-  
“ ness, your independent spirit : you have  
“ given up every thing to come and attend  
“ me ;—it is but fair that I should also do some-  
“ thing. I therefore resign myself ; let physic  
“ command, I submit to its decisions and en-

“ trust my health into your hands. But for that  
“ purpose I think it right to give you an ac-  
“ count of the habits I have contracted, and of  
“ the affections to which I am subject.

“ I am habitually costive—I have been so from  
“ childhood, and the habit grows daily stronger  
“ and more painful. But for baths and enemata I  
“ could not endure it, and I am even sometimes  
“ obliged in addition to these remedies, to take  
“ emollient beverages and herb broths, and to  
“ observe a diet : sometimes even all these  
“ means are ineffectual, and I am obliged to  
“ have recourse to my heroic remedy, the *Soupe*  
“ *à la reine*. That composition of milk, yolk of  
“ egg, and sugar, produces upon me the effect  
“ of a lenient purgative, and never fails to ad-  
“ minister relief; it is to this day the only  
“ medicine I have employed. The urinary  
“ functions have never been satisfactorily per-  
“ formed; I have always experienced great  
“ difficulty in that respect, and the more so  
“ as the want was more frequently felt. How-  
“ ever, this sometimes slumbered and gave me  
“ every night some hours of repose, which satis-  
“ fied nature, and I gained the time that indo-  
“ lence would have absorbed. I never consulted  
“ a physician. At present I am less saving of

“ time; and my sufferings are intolerable. The  
“ hours at which I satisfy the wants of nature  
“ are very irregular. I sleep or eat according  
“ to the time, the circumstances, or the situation  
“ in which I find myself. In general my sleep  
“ is placid and peaceful, and should suffering  
“ or any accident interrupt it, I jump out of  
“ bed, call for a light, walk about, work,  
“ and fix my mind upon some object. Some-  
“ times I remain in the dark, I pass into  
“ another room, go into another bed, or stretch  
“ myself on a sofa. I am up at two, three, or  
“ four o’clock in the morning, and I call some-  
“ body to keep me company, and talk of re-  
“ collections or affairs until daylight. As soon  
“ as it appears I go out, I take a walk, and im-  
“ mediately that the sun shows itself I come in-  
“ doors and get into bed again, where I remain  
“ more or less as the day announces itself more  
“ or less favourably. If it turns out bad, and I  
“ experience irritation or uneasiness, I try the  
“ experiment I have already mentioned to you  
“ —I change and vary, I go from the bed to the  
“ sofa, from the sofa to the bed, until I find some  
“ cool place, and then I am better. I shall not  
“ describe to you my morning dress—it has  
“ nothing to do with my sufferings, and besides,



“ I will not deprive you of the pleasure of admiring it. These beautiful evolutions lead me on till nine or ten o'clock, and sometimes later: I then order breakfast, which I sometimes eat in the bath, but more frequently in the garden. Either Bertrand or Montholon keeps me company, and sometimes both. The *police* of the table is always the province of the physician, and it is therefore proper that I give you a description of mine. It consists of a soup, two dishes of meat, one dish of vegetables, and sallad when I can get it. My beverage is half a bottle of claret diluted with a great deal of water, and a small quantity pure at the end of the dinner. Sometimes, when I am tired of claret, I take champaign instead, and that is an infallible way of exciting the stomach.” I asked him what was the kind of vegetable he ate most frequently. “ Potatoes, lentils, peas, French beans, and cauliflowers,” said he; “ but do you know that we put the whole island in a tumult by asking for lentils? They would not believe us; we only asked as a joke, but not to make any use of them. Lentils! lentils were not food for men. The cook insisted, was laughed at, and refused; and with difficulty obtained that some

“ should be sent for from the Cape.” I was desirous of knowing in what manner his meat was dressed, and whether it was made rich and strongly spiced. “ It consists,” said he, “ of chops or a leg of mutton, of which I like the part that is most roasted and brownest. I am fond of plain cooking, and do not like cooks who are only wits in their art, (*les cuisiniers qui ne font que de l'esprit*). A good *étouffé à la Genoïse*, a *pilau à la Milanaise*, and *tailleurs à la Corse*, are preferable, in my opinion, to all the wonders of the art of Beauvilliers.”

I expressed to him my admiration of such uncommon temperance, and he resumed: “ On our marches with the army of Italy I always had some wine, some bread, and a roasted fowl fastened to my saddle-bow, and that provision sufficed for the whole day: I may even say, that I often shared it with my suite. I thus saved time and economised on the table for the field of battle. I eat fast and masticate very little; my meals therefore do not consume much of my time. This is not what you must approve, I know; but in the situation in which I am placed, what need have I to trouble myself about care and mastication? I am attacked with a *chronic hepatitis*, a dis-

“ order endemic in this horrible climate. I  
 “ must fall a prey to it—I must expiate on this  
 “ rock the glory I have shed over France, and  
 “ the blows I have inflicted upon England.  
 “ And see how they proceed. It is now more  
 “ than a year since they have deprived me of all  
 “ medical assistance. I have not been allowed  
 “ to have a physician in whom I had con-  
 “ fidence, and have been debarred from the  
 “ right of trying the resources of art. The  
 “ wretch thinks my agony too slow, he hastens  
 “ its progress, my death is the object of all his  
 “ wishes; he grudges even the air I breathe.  
 “ Will you believe that his attempts against  
 “ me have been open and continued, \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*

General Montholon was  
 “ ill, and he refused to communicate with Ber-  
 “ trand, and wished to open a correspondence  
 “ direct with me. He sent me his satellites  
 “ twice a day : Reade, Wynyard, his confidential  
 “ officers, beset these miserable cabins, and  
 “ wanted to penetrate into my apartments;  
 “ but I caused the door to be barricaded,  
 “ loaded my guns and my pistols, and have kept  
 “ them so ever since, and swore that I would

“ blow out the brains of the first that violated  
“ my asylum. They then retired, vociferating  
“ that they wanted to see Napoleon Bonaparte,  
“ and that they should find means to oblige  
“ Bonaparte to appear. I then thought those  
“ disgraceful scenes at an end, but they were re-  
“ peated every day with greater violence, and I  
“ was assailed with threats, vociferations, and  
“ letters full of abuse. My servants threw  
“ those papers into the fire, but exasperation  
“ had reached the highest pitch, and a cata-  
“ strophe might ensue from one moment to ano-  
“ ther: never had I been so much exposed. It  
“ was the 16th of August, and these outrages  
“ had lasted ever since the 11th: I at last  
“ sent to inform the Governor that my patience  
“ was exhausted, and my mind fully made up  
“ to dispatch the first of his people who should  
“ pass the threshold of my door. This warning  
“ had its due effect, and put an end to these  
“ insulting proceedings. It is an additional  
“ act of cruelty on the part of the English Go-  
“ vernment to have selected such a man; but  
“ iniquity seeks iniquity, and guesses where it  
“ is to be found; and Ministers never me-  
“ ditate any atrocity without meeting with

“some corsair ready to assist them in the  
“execution. I freely and voluntarily abdicated  
“in favour of my son and of the Constitution;  
“and freely and voluntarily bent my steps to-  
“wards England, where I wished to live in re-  
“tirement, and under the protection of its laws.  
“Its laws! Does aristocracy know any law?  
“Is there a crime it will hesitate to commit, or  
“a right it will scruple to trample under foot?  
“Its chiefs have all lain prostrate before my  
“eagles; to some I gave crowns out of the  
“fruit of my victories; I replaced others on  
“their thrones, from which victory had hurled  
“them; I shewed clemency, magnanimity to-  
“wards all; and all have betrayed me, desert-  
“ed me, and basely contributed to rivet my  
“chains. I am at the mercy of a freebooter.”

I endeavoured to calm the Emperor's agitation. He had not been out for eighteen months; I represented to him the dangers to which he exposed himself by so prolonged a state of inactivity, and requested him not to remain pent up in his apartment, but to come out and breathe the open air. “No,” said he; “insults have  
“long confined me to these cabins, and now  
“want of strength prevents me from leaving  
“them. Examine that leg, see whether you

“ find any thing that ails it ; I feel that it gives “ way under me.” I looked, and having observed and examined the whole of the right side, I acquired the painful certainty that it was weaker than the left. “ You feel too gently,” said he ; “ press harder, and tell me whether “ nature is in league with this Calabrian, and “ whether the climate will soon yield up to the “ Minister the corpse he waits for !”—“ Nothing, Sire, is to be seen or felt ; it is only a temporary weakness which will soon be removed.”

The Emperor had spoken to me of a protest which I felt a curiosity to see : it was shewn to me, and was that of the 16th of August, 1819.\*

24th Sept.—I saw the Emperor at ten o'clock, A.M. He was still in bed, being weak and languid after having passed a bad night. He is tormented by vague sensations of pain, and experiences one in the interior of the right breast which never leaves him. I advised him to take a bath, and a sedative draught, and to use frictions with a liniment composed of ammonia and opium.

At two o'clock the Emperor was better,

\* Which see in O'Meara's " Napoleon in Exile," vol. II. Appendix, p. 514.

though still in bed. He began to converse about Italy, enumerating the plans and views he had formed respecting that country; and mentioning the great men it has produced. He discussed the merit of Volta, Spallanzani, Aldini; and suddenly addressing himself to me,—“You do not speak to me of Mascagni,” said he; “you have published the posthumous “works of Mascagni; I must see them. I am “anxious to admire those plates, of which the “English papers have spoken in such high “terms.” I showed them to him. He laid them before him, examined them, discussed the subjects they represented, questioned me respecting them, and took so lively an interest in this representation of the human frame, that five o’clock came before he perceived how time had passed. “Two hours of anatomy,” said he, “for a man who never could bear the sight “of a dead body!—Ah! Doctor, what are you “thinking about? But it is impossible to write “or to execute better. You are a seducer; “you will soon persuade me that pills are pleasant things to take.”

25th.—The Emperor continues to be better. He has had a good night. I ordered another bath. I presented myself again at three o’clock

and was introduced.—“ Well, Doctor,” said he, “ what is your opinion respecting me ?—Am I “ to live or to die ? Tell me candidly what you “ think ?”—“ I think that your Majesty is not yet arrived at the end of your career ; other destinies await you !”—“ Ah, ah ! Doctor, true as “ a physician, I see ; but I will oblige you to be “ sincere. You possess the skill of Corvisart, and “ you must adopt his rough unceremoniousness. “ You keep a journal of my complaint, do you “ not ?”—“ Yes, Sire.”—“ Well, I will write it “ under your dictation ; or you shall transcribe “ it under mine. You will then no longer have “ it in your power to brighten the prospects of “ the future ; I shall know what I am about ; I “ shall be able to compare each day what I feel “ and what I suffer, with what I have felt and “ suffered before. You will no longer deceive “ me. Doctor, you are caught !”—“ But, Sire . . .” “ But ! It is a settled thing ; I shall write “ or dictate my own bulletins. Have you not “ brought me some books ?”—“ We have some, Sire.”—“ What are they ?”—“ I do not know ; it was not I who purchased them.”—“ I warn “ you that I will see every one of them !”—“ But, Sire, some libels may have slipped in amongst



them!"—"Poh! the sun has no more spots!  
"The herd of libellists has exhausted its pas-  
"ture: let me see every thing!"

A cart was advancing towards Longwood, and I was following it with my eyes through the window, to ascertain whether it contained the boxes of books.—I found that it did; and told the Emperor. "They are most welcome," said he; "I shall be relieved from the weight  
"of a few hours! Let them be brought into  
"the drawing-room, I will see them opened."

The boxes were brought, broken open, and some books were taken out of them, which Aly was going to give to the Emperor. "No!" said Napoleon, "that is not what I want! Look  
"into the box—examine it carefully—make  
"haste!—a package sent from Europe must  
"contain something else: books are not the  
"first things a father has to look at." He was right; we presently found a picture sent to him by Prince Eugene. He received it with transports of joy; pressed it to his lips; and gazing upon it for some time, with tears in his eyes—"Dear boy!" exclaimed he, "if  
"he does not fall a victim to some political atro-  
"city, he will not be unworthy of his father!

“ But what is the matter with you? Why do  
“ you not continue to unpack?” We had all  
stopped, and stood in an attitude of religious  
awe. We shared his emotion; we experi-  
enced his alarms; we were breathless. How-  
ever, we set to work again; the servants  
took out the books, and Napoleon passed them  
in review, and examined them. He had hoped  
to find “ *De l’Allemagne*,” and “ *Polybius* ;”  
but, unfortunately, neither of those works was  
in the boxes: they had been filled without  
choice or discrimination, and hardly contained  
any thing but works which they already pos-  
sessed at St. Helena. Napoleon was much  
grieved at this, and repeatedly said to me,  
“ Why did you not devote some twenty thou-  
“ sand francs to make these purchases?—My  
“ mother would have paid them; and you would  
“ have administered consolation to me by bring-  
“ ing me some books. If, at least, I had ‘ Poly-  
“ bius !’ but, perhaps, it will reach me from some  
“ other quarter.”—The work did reach him a  
short time before his death, through the kindness  
of Lady Holland; but not so the work of Ma-  
dame de Staël—he died without having read it.  
Some bundles of newspapers were next taken

out of the box. "Ah!" said the Emperor, "this will bring up the arrears of my information about the state of affairs. It is curious enough to see the wise measures which were to cancel the recollection of my tyranny! Poor Europe! what convulsions are preparing for it!"—"Here, Sire, is your correspondence."—"Unpublished! that, at least, is not the conception of a libelist; it has not been falsified, altered, and carried to Vienna.—Egypt! we were all young then; we played with death; we only thought of victory;—the period of defections had not yet arrived."

"Alexandria, 5th Fructidor, Anno VI.

"TO GENERAL BONAPARTE :—

"You would be unjust, Citizen-general, if you were to construe into a proof of weakness or discouragement, the vehemence with which I have exposed our wants to you. As I have already told you, the event of the 14th\* has only produced indignation and thirst for vengeance in the minds of the troops. For my part, it matters little where I am to live or

\* The first battle of Aboukir.

die, provided I live for the glory of our arms, and die as I shall have lived! Rely, therefore, upon me in all this concourse of circumstances, as well as upon those whom you may place under my orders."

"Such were the sentiments of brave Kleber!  
"—At a later period he suffered himself to  
be misled by intrigue; but his heart was  
truly French. He never would have cove-  
nanted with the emigrants. He never would  
have disowned our eagles. I am glad to have  
this collection; it will refresh my recollec-  
tion; I shall increase it—add notes to it.  
But what boxes have you there? Eau de  
Cologne! Send it to Madame Bertrand; I  
commission you, Doctor, to deliver it. Ano-  
ther!—it is for you. Here are numerous  
duplicate copies of books; I give them up to  
the priests."

The last box had been broken open: it contained the vases and church ornaments. "Stop!" said Napoleon; "this is the property of St. Peter; have a care who touches it; send for the Abbés.—But talking of Abbés, do you know that the Cardinal is a poor creature?—He sends me missionaries and propa-

“gandists, as if I were a penitent; and as if  
“a whole string of their Eminences had not  
“always attended at my chapel. I will do  
“what he ought to have done: I possess the  
“right of investiture, and I shall use it. Abbé!”  
(Buonavita was just entering the room,) “I  
“give you the episcopal mitre.”—“Sire! . . . .”  
“I restore it to you; you shall wear it in  
“spite of the heretics: they will not again  
“take it from you.”—“But, Sire! . . . .” “I  
“cannot add to it so rich a benefice as that  
“of Valencia, which Suchet had given you;  
“but at any rate your see shall be secure  
“from the chances of battles.—I appoint you  
“Bishop of . . . . . let me see, of the Jum-  
“na. — The vast countries through which  
“that river flows, were on the point of en-  
“tering into alliance with me. — All was in  
“readiness; all were going to march; we  
“were about to give the finishing blow to Eng-  
“land; when one man—I dare not call him a  
“Frenchman,—upset the whole scheme. Abbé,  
“it is understood; I will have you wear the epis-  
“copal insignia.—I insist upon it: they com-  
“mand respect and veneration. You will strike  
“with awe all the heretics that surround you.  
“General Montholon, procure from James-

“ Town, or the Cape, what is necessary to dress  
“ the Abbé !”—Unfortunately the general could  
not succeed ; neither of those places is Catholic,  
and neither red nor violet is in request. The  
good Abbé remained, therefore, modestly attired  
in the *bure*\* of the missionary, in spite of his  
double promotion !

It now remained to be settled how the chapel  
should be arranged, where it should be, and  
how the altar should be erected and fixed. The  
missionary could not at all conceive how all  
that was to be done. “ I will tell you,” said the  
Emperor ; “ I will not have any service except on  
“ Sundays, and the holidays acknowledged by  
“ the Concordate ; on those days I will give you  
“ up the dining-room, and you shall say mass in  
“ it on a moveable altar which will be taken  
“ away immediately afterwards. You are old  
“ and infirm, I therefore choose the hour the  
“ most convenient for you ; you shall say mass  
“ between nine and ten o’clock. We have the  
“ *chef-d’œuvre* to supply us with all the props  
“ and boards that will be required. You will  
“ take from it the rafters, the traverses, and all  
“ that you may think useful for your purpose ;

\* A dark coarse woollen stuff.

“ and throw the remainder of that ill-shaped  
“ construction into some corner of the garden.  
“ Did you ever see a more singular kind of  
“ bed? \* Every thing moves in that absurd  
“ machine. It is a tottering fabric, where the  
“ help of a ladder is required to get at a mouse-  
“ trap. British taste alone could be delivered  
“ of such a conception !”

26th.—The Emperor much the same. He had passed the night in perusing the newspapers, and was very tired. I recommended rest, some food, and a bath in the course of the day. “ Very well, Doctor,” said he, looking at the picture of the King of Rome, which he still held in his hands : “ Here, place this  
“ admirable child by the side of his mother ! . . .  
“ There . . . to the right, nearer to the mantel-  
“ piece. You know her by her blooming looks—  
“ that is Maria Louisa : she holds her son in her  
“ arms ! And that other picture, you know it  
“ also ? It is the Imperial Prince. You do not  
“ guess what graceful hand held the needle that  
“ sketched this representation of his features ?—  
“ It was that of his mother. That picture before  
“ which you now stand, is Maria Louisa again ;

\* That sent out by Government.

“ the two others are portraits of Josephine.—I  
“ loved her tenderly. You are examining that  
“ large clock ?—It served to wake the Great  
“ Frederick early in the morning. I took it at  
“ Potsdam : it was all Prussia was worth.  
“ Move the bust of the Imperial Prince to the  
“ left, it is too much to the right. The orna-  
“ ments of my mantel-piece are, as you see, not  
“ very sumptuous.—The bust of my son, two  
“ candlesticks, two gilt cups, two phials of *Eau*  
“ *de Cologne*, a pair of scissars to cut nails with,  
“ and a small glass, are all it contains.—This is  
“ no longer the splendour of the Tuileries. But  
“ no matter ; if I am decayed in my power, I  
“ am not in my glory : I preserve all my re-  
“ collections. Few sovereigns have immolated  
“ themselves for their people : a sacrifice so  
“ immense is not without its charms.” In a  
few minutes I withdrew.

I shall here take up and continue the description which the Emperor was giving of his furniture, in the conversation just related. At one end of the room, to the right, was a small camp-bed of iron, quite plain, with four silver eagles and silk curtains. Two small windows, both without any ornament, gave light to the apartment. Between them stood a scrutoire,



upon which was a large dressing-case, and before it was an arm-chair, in which Napoleon sat when he was studiously engaged, and when he came out of the bath. A second chair was placed to the left of it; and on the right was the sword which the Emperor wore at Austerlitz. The door leading into the bath-room was concealed by an old screen, next to which was an equally old sofa, covered with calico. Upon that sofa it was that Napoleon usually reclined, and sought shelter from dampness and the gnats; his legs thrust into a sack of flannel, and a shabby table by the side of him, on which were his books or his breakfast. The second room was quite as good as the first. Like it, it was built of mud; its size was 7 feet in height, 15 in length, and 12 in breadth; it had one window, and opened into the garden, and into the dining-room. Its furniture consisted of a camp-bed, several guns, two Chinese screens, a chest of drawers, two small tables, on one of which were books and on the other, bottles; a chair and a magnificent wash-hand stand, brought from the Elysée. Such was the miserable habitation in which the Emperor was pent up: a noble specimen of British magnificence and sumptuousness.

27th.—The Emperor has had a restless night: he had been reading for several hours, and was still reading, when I saw him at ten o'clock in the morning. He complained of vague pains in the abdomen, which an enema soon dispelled. I advised his Majesty to cease reading, and to take a bath, and a little exercise.

The dampness of the two rooms was excessive; it attacked and destroyed every thing. The paltry nankeen which served as tapestry was hanging in rags against the walls. We took it down, and endeavoured to place before the Emperor's eyes something more pleasing, by putting up in its stead some muslin we had purchased, and which we adorned with some fine birds of Egypt, of which we had a collection painted on paper. We grouped our paintings, and placed in the midst of them an eagle, which was to protect and guide them. Napoleon smiled on seeing that symbol of victory. "Dear eagle!" said he, "it would still "soar on high, if those whom it covered with "its wings had not arrested its flight!"

When I returned into my apartment I found an invitation from the Governor. He had heard of the anatomical plates I had brought with

me, and wished to see them. I shewed them to him. He looked at them, examined them, turned from one to the other and back again, and I thought I observed in the eagerness with which he opened them, a kind of pre-occupation of mind, which alarmed me. But I was wrong: his Excellency had become suddenly enamoured of physiology, and that was all; he harboured no evil thought, at least he did not manifest it outwardly; on the contrary, I heard nothing but encomiums upon the beauty of the work, and nothing else was talked of.

28th.—The Emperor a little better. I ordered a bath and exercise as I had done the day before. “Whilst you were still in bed, Doctor,” said he, “I was following your prescription.—“ I had risen at day-break; and was walking out  
“ to take a little fresh air; and I am now turning  
“ over some ideas which have occurred to me,  
“ respecting an operation in which my orders  
“ were not well executed.” The flannel bag was on the ground, and Napoleon on his legs; so that I had an opportunity of admiring his costume. It consisted of a white dressing-gown, a pair of very wide white trowsers with feet, red slippers, a Madras shawl round his head, no cravat, and the shirt-collar open. I

examined this singular dress; the Emperor perceived it, and said, laughing, "Ah! I see  
" what arrests your attention; and to punish you  
" for your want of respect for my dress, I close  
" my door against your drugs until to-morrow.  
" I have some algebraical calculations to make."

29th.—The Emperor very much dejected; and complained, to repeat his own expression, of a *deep pain in the liver*. He continues to read, consents but with reluctance to use exercise, and takes a bath.

The carpet of his room was strewed with books; there were some round the bed, some in the middle of the apartment, some close to the walls. I could not understand why they were thus scattered about, and asked the cause of this confusion.—"The Emperor has read all night."—"Well?"—"When he wishes to read, he covers his bed with books, takes them up, turns them over, and throws them away when he has done with them."—"But why not pick them up?"—"Because he was still reading."—"Did that prevent its being done?"—"As long as the Emperor holds a book in his hand he will not suffer any body to interrupt him. Good works are allowed to slide down on the floor, indifferent ones are disdainfully pushed aside, and

bad ones thrown against the wall ; but it is only when the Emperor is out of the room, or in his bath, that it is allowed to touch them."

30th.—The Emperor somewhat better. I recommend the use of mercury both internally and externally ; but he refuses it, and takes a bath.

1st and 2d Oct.—The Emperor in the same state. I again proposed mercurial preparations, and recommended exercise.

3d.—The Emperor found himself better, and agreed to take a little exercise. I accompanied him into the garden, and was speaking to him of the care his health required, and of the approaching cessation of his sufferings.—“ I believe you, Doctor,” said he ; “ the climate has been well chosen ; it will not let its victim escape !—But you, how do you find yourself in your situation ?—Are the nine thousand francs assigned to you, sufficient to satisfy your wants ?” I assured him that I was too happy in being near his person ; that I did not seek fortune ; and that my only ambition had been to offer my services to him. “ That is very well, dear Doctor ; but to unite both things is better still.—I give you what I gave at Paris ; circumstances are no longer

“ the same, there is no comparison, but for  
“ that very reason I wish your temporary  
“ salary to be equivalent to your wants. Such  
“ is my intention; see whether too low an  
“ estimate has not been made.”—I replied,  
“ that I had more than I wanted, and that  
his kindness quite overpowered me.”—“ How  
“ long do you intend to remain here?”—“ As  
long as my services are agreeable to your Ma-  
jesty. — “ Do you know that my surgeon is  
“ also the surgeon of the persons forming my  
“ establishment?—that being alone, he must  
“ be at the same time, surgeon, physician, and  
“ apothecary?”—“ I know it, Sire; I am de-  
voted to you for ever; dispose of me as you may  
think fit.”—“ Well, I will not detain you more  
“ than five years on this rock; and after that  
“ time, I will settle upon you a pension of eight  
“ or nine thousand francs per annum. You  
“ will then return to Europe, having enough  
“ to lead an independent life; you will be able  
“ to resume your anatomical labours; and will,  
“ in time, be ranked amongst the first phy-  
“ siologists of the age. You are entitled to  
“ my gratitude, esteem, and affection, for the  
“ sacrifices you have made for me: and you  
“ will justify those sentiments by taking care of

“me.” The Emperor continued to converse a long time upon the same subject; and in a few days after General Montholon, by his order, repeated to me what he had said.

4th.—The Emperor's health in the same state. I advised warm sulphureous baths. After his usual bath he walked in the garden, and I followed him. He was gloomy and low-spirited. Having seated himself under a tuft of trees which commanded an extensive view, “Ah! Doctor,” said he, “where is the fine  
“climate of Corsica?” He paused a few minutes, and then continued:—“Fate has not  
“permitted me to see once more those sites  
“endeared to me by all the recollections of my  
“infant days . . . I intended to reserve to myself  
“the sovereignty of that island, and I could  
“have done so, but an intrigue, a moment of  
“ill-humour, altered my choice and I preferred  
“Elba. Had I followed my first idea and re-  
“tired to Ajaccio, perhaps I should not have  
“thought of seizing again the reins of power;  
“I should not have been vulnerable on every  
“point; the promises made would not have  
“been broken, and I should not be here. I  
“had some idea of seeking refuge there in  
“1815. I was certain of uniting the opinions,

“ wishes, and efforts of all, and I should have  
“ found myself in a condition to brave the  
“ malevolence of the Allied Powers. You know  
“ the inhabitants of our mountains; you know  
“ their energy, their perseverance, their courage;  
“ and with what a noble and undaunted mind  
“ they face the enemy. Islands, besides, have  
“ their peculiar means of defence; winds, dis-  
“ tance and the difficulties of landing, weaken  
“ the chances in favour of an aggression against  
“ them; and they avoid three fourths of the  
“ evils with which continents are afflicted. The  
“ whole population would have received me  
“ with open arms, it would have become my  
“ family, and all its hearts would have been at  
“ my disposal. Do you think that a coalition  
“ of thirty, forty, or even fifty thousand men  
“ would have been capable of subduing us, and  
“ that they would have dared to attempt it?  
“ What sovereign would have engaged in a  
“ conflict in the issue of which there was every  
“ thing to lose and nothing to gain?—for, I  
“ repeat it, the people were devoted to me;  
“ from my earliest days I have had a name  
“ and influence in Corsica. Its steep moun-  
“ tains, its deep valleys, its torrents and pre-  
“ cipices, offered no dangers to me. I have vi-



“ sited them all from one extremity of the island  
“ to the other, and never has a single accident  
“ or the slightest insult taught me that my con-  
“ fidence was misplaced. Even at Bocognano,  
“ where sentiments of hatred and vengeance are  
“ transmitted down to the seventh generation—  
“ where in fixing the marriage-portion of a  
“ young girl the number of her cousins is taken  
“ into account, I was greeted and welcomed,  
“ and every sacrifice would have been made for  
“ me. It was not, therefore, the sentiments of  
“ the population that gave me the least unea-  
“ siness ; for I knew that every arm was devoted  
“ to me : but it would have been said that I  
“ got out of the way, that I sought the port,  
“ whilst all was perishing, and I would not seek  
“ for a refuge amidst the wreck of so many brave  
“ men. I resolved, therefore, to retire to Ame-  
“ rica, and bent my steps towards England ; but  
“ I was far from foreseeing on what horrible  
“ terms she grants her hospitality. I was also  
“ deterred by another consideration. Once in  
“ Corsica, I did not fear the issue of the strug-  
“ gle ; but I should have been in the centre of  
“ the Mediterranean ; the eyes of France and  
“ Italy would have been turned towards me, and  
“ the effervescence would not have subsided.  
“ In order to ensure their own tranquillity, the

“sovereigns would have been obliged to attack  
“me, and the Island would have been torn by  
“war, and I could not bear the idea of being  
“reproached as the cause of its misfortunes.  
“Besides, I had abdicated in favour of my son,  
“and such an act could not be illusory: I  
“wished to render it more certain and more  
“advantageous for the nation, and feared to  
“paralyze its effects.

“Ah! Doctor, what recollections Corsica has  
“left me! I still enjoy in imagination its sites  
“and its mountains: methinks I still tread its  
“soil, and know it even by the odour it exhales.  
“I intended to ameliorate its condition, to render  
“it happy—in a word, to do every thing in its  
“favour, and the rest of France would not have  
“disapproved of my predilection, . . . but our  
“disasters came, and I could not carry into effect  
“the plans I had formed.

“Though mountainous, Corsica is deficient  
“in water, and has no large rivers. That was  
“an obstacle to contend with, but the excel-  
“lence of the soil and local dispositions would  
“have made amends for this defect.

“The salt pits near Ajaccio are favourable  
“for the growth of coffee and sugar-canes: this  
“has been proved by experiments, and I proposed  
“to turn this circumstance to account. I in-

“ tended to encourage industry, commerce, agri-  
“ culture, sciences and arts ; to give facilities to  
“ the inhabitants, to invite families of foreigners  
“ into the island, to increase its population ; in a  
“ word, to put it in a condition to suffice to itself,  
“ and render itself independent of the continental  
“ markets. I had adopted a plan of fortifications  
“ upon which I had long meditated, and which  
“ would have been inexpugnable. St. Florent is  
“ one of the most favourable situations I know,  
“ and the most advantageous for trade. It is  
“ close to France, and borders upon Italy ; and its  
“ harbours are safe and convenient, and capable of  
“ receiving large fleets : I should have built there  
“ a large and fine city, which would have been the  
“ capital ; I should have appointed it a fortress,  
“ and it would have had ships constantly station-  
“ ed there. Such were my ideas—such were the  
“ plans I had formed ; but my enemies have had  
“ the art of making me waste my existence on  
“ the field of battle ; they have transformed into  
“ the demon of war, the man who desired only  
“ the blessings of peace ; the nations have been  
“ deceived by the stratagem—all have risen, and  
“ I have been overpowered. However, if I have  
“ not had it in my power to carry into execution  
“ the plans I had formed in favour of Corsica, I

“ have at least the satisfaction of having done  
“ something for Ajaccio: its port is small, but  
“ good and well situated.”

I was greatly affected whilst the Emperor was speaking, and could scarcely command my emotion. What I heard harrowed up my very soul, when I compared the state of prosperity which was in store for Corsica, with the pitiable condition into which it had fallen; and, in spite of myself, tears escaped from my eyes. “ What  
“ is the matter with you?” said the Empéror.  
—“ Ah! Sire, pardon my agitation; I cannot control my feelings; the contrast is too striking.”—“ Doctor, our country!—our country!  
“ If St. Helena were France, I should like even  
“ this frightful rock.”

5th.—Slight abdominal pains, which a bath removed. The Emperor was better, and authorised me to write to Sir Hudson, to ask his leave to visit the hospitals.

I was not yet familiar with the forms of ceremony observed towards the Emperor, and endeavoured to learn them, and to model my behaviour and manner upon those of the individuals that surrounded his person. None of us ever appeared before his Majesty without having been previously announced; and in his

presence we were respectful and attentive, standing up, uncovered, without presuming to approach or to put our hats on until invited so to do. Nobody addressed him, unless in general conversation; in which case he listened, answered, animated the discussion and enlivened it by his wit, shewing himself at the same time brilliant, just, kind, and full of amenity. Napoleon was to us amiable and affectionate, seeking to centre in himself all our affections; his advice was that of a father, his reproaches those of a friend. In his anger he was impetuous and terrible, and would not brook contradiction; but the fit over, he was all kindness and attention, and tried by every means in his power to console those whom he had ill-treated; his actions, the tone of his voice, all expressed his kindly feelings and manifested his regret. When the subject of offence was serious, he discarded the guilty, and kept him aloof for a time; but the period of interdiction elapsed, everything was forgotten, the exile was received into favour again, and not a word more was said about the matter.

Every thing relating to these rules of general conduct was easily understood, and I had soon learnt it; but etiquette has its forms, which it is impossible to divine. I did not know, for instance, that it forbade leaving the Emperor's

room until ordered by him to withdraw.—Napoleon had fallen asleep, and, fearful of disturbing him, I left the room; but I had not yet reached my own before he was awake again. He looked round, and not seeing me, rang the bell and sent for me. I went back to him, and found him in the same state in which I had left him. He woke a second time with a deep sigh, and fixing his eyes upon me—"Oh! oh!" said he, "you are still here?"—"Yes, Sire, but I had gone away."—"Ah!" said he, rising, looking steadfastly at me, and taking me by the ear, laughing at the same time, "*Dottoraccio di Capo Corso!*\* you leave me alone! you withdraw without my leave! You are a novice, and I forgive you; but neither the Grand Marshal nor General Montholon would have retired from my bed-side until I sent them away." I entreated him to excuse my ignorance, and he again laughed, repeating once more that I was a novice.

6th.—I saw the Emperor at 10 o'clock in the morning, and found him better.—He took his bath and his usual exercise. When he came into the house again, he took up a volume of Racine, turned over the leaves for some time, and at last stopped at the scene where Mith-

\* Great Cape Corsican Doctor.

ridates develops his plan of attack against Rome.\* “You expect me to recite that passage so much admired by wiseacres in general, but, my dear *Dottoraccio*, I shall do no such thing: it is all foolery clothed in poetry too elegant. Let us turn to this other passage; it is less pompous, but contains much more truth and reason.” And he began to read with a delicacy and truth of expression, and inflexion of voice, which would have done honour to an actor. He, however, soon grew weary, threw down the book, fell back into his arm-chair pronouncing the name of his mother in an undertone, and sunk into a kind of stupor. I endeavoured to recall him to himself; I felt his chest heave, and as it were some great effort agitating his whole frame. He looked at me, but spoke not, and I did not know what to think of the state in which I saw him. Suddenly a crisis took place, and he was relieved. “Doctor,” said he, “I am dead; what do you think about it?” Then rising from his chair and advancing towards me, he looked at me from head to foot, took hold of me by the ears and whiskers, and

\* The opening scene of the third act of Racine’s “Mithridates.”

pushed me against the wall, exclaiming, "Ah!  
" you rascal of a Doctor *Capo-Corsino*, you are  
" come to St. Helena to physic me, are you?—  
" Do you know that I will have you hanged at  
" your own house at Cape Corsica?" In speak-  
ing thus he laughed, gesticulated, and said the  
drollest things imaginable.

7th.—Same state of health;—bath and exercise as usual. The Emperor had authorised me to go to Plantation-house. I went and paid my first visit to the Governor, who received me in presence of his Adjutant-general, Sir G. Gorrequer. I complained of the restrictions imposed upon us, of the melancholy state to which they had brought the Emperor's health, and added a prognostic as to the issue of his disorder; stating that every symptom tended to prove that the diagnostic of chronic hepatitis already existed, and declaring that the climate of St. Helena engenders, nourishes, and increases that kind of affections, and that their issue cannot but be extremely dangerous. "You think so?" said Sir Hudson: "General Bonaparte enjoys excellent health, notwithstanding all he says. This is the healthiest climate I know; and it has been chosen for that reason—Undoubtedly, undoubtedly!"



8th.—The Emperor continues to feel well, and recovers by degrees his appetite and strength.—Bath and usual exercise. The Emperor sent for the children of the Grand Marshal;—they had not seen him for some days past. They hastened to him full of joy, and immediately began to play and sport around him. To him they appealed as arbiter of their discussions :—“ Is it not true, Sire, that my cup and ball goes best ? ”—“ No, it is mine. ”—“ It is mine, ” said a third : “ I refer it to you—your Majesty shall decide. ” The Emperor laughed, gave his decision, laughed louder still, and the tumult went on as before. “ You are too noisy, children ; I shall not keep you to dinner. ”—“ Yes, do ! we will not make any more noise : ” and they were quieter. Napoleon kept them, placed little Hortensia next to him, and ordered dinner to be served. But their appetite satisfied, the discussions began again : each contended for the palm of victory,—each pretended to have been the most skilful. The Emperor was again established judge, and appealed to, right and left. “ Is it not true, Sire ? Your Majesty has seen ;—have you not ? ” Napoleon, almost stunned with the noise, did not know whom to answer, and laughed more and

more. "Hold your tongues," said he to them at last; "you are little chatter-boxes. True, but be quiet; you make too much noise." And they all began again, accusing each other mutually of crying out too loud, until, dinner being over, the Emperor sent them away. "You will send for us to-morrow, Sire;—will you not?"—"You are, then, very fond of playing with me?"—"Yes! yes!" exclaimed they all together, and withdrew in the hopes of coming again.

"How happy they are when I send for them, or play with them!" said the Emperor; "all their wishes are satisfied. Passions have not yet approached their hearts: they feel the plenitude of existence;—let them enjoy it! At their age, I thought and felt as they do: what storms since! . . . But how much that little Hortensia grows and improves! If she lives, of how many young *élégans* will she not disturb the repose! I shall then be no more: what say you, Doctor?"

9th.—The Emperor's health in the same state; continuation of the same remedies.

I had just received despatches from Plantation-house: what could they contain? what further luminous restrictions had Sir Hudson

imagined? I was impatient to know, and slipped out to read them; but I found it was a letter from his Excellency in answer to mine. Permission was granted to me to visit the hospitals, but on condition that I should not go alone, but under the *surveillance* of an officer. This precaution was most prudent; for the sick might be stirred up into sedition, and so war-like an individual as myself might beat England with a few dying patients!

The Emperor was walking round Longwood. I observed him looking about, peeping into the interior of the apartments to see what was going forward there, and visiting, one after the other, every room occupied by his suite. I was going up to him to shew him the letter I had received, when I was stopped by one of the servants—"You must not go near the Emperor—his Majesty is incognito."—"How incognito?"—"Certainly: do you not see that he has not his usual dress on, nor the cocked hat, which he never leaves off, excepting during the short time he is at table? Well, whenever the Emperor is dressed as you now see him,—when he puts on that long green great-coat, and buttons it up to the neck, and takes that large round hat,—he does not wish to be approached by any body,

and even the Grand Marshal himself does not disturb him." I thanked the servant for his information, and waited till the Emperor should come in ; but he went to pay a visit to Madame Bertrand, and remained there two hours. I was beginning to find the time very long. " Have a little patience," said Noveraz\* ; " I see some movement at the posts ; they are going to relieve the sentries : the Emperor does not expose himself to be elbowed by the red-coats ; he will soon come in." In a short time he actually did come in ; and having undressed and put on a dressing-gown, he walked for a long while in his drawing-room. He was in good spirits. The conversation fell upon Paris, and he spoke a great deal about the *English colony* : it was the head-quarters, the parade, of all polices ;—Fouché and William Flint held their market, and the highest bidder was the purchaser. " I was one day speaking to the King of Wurtemberg at the Tuileries ; we were standing near a window, and had a view of the saloons. I had just received a report disclosing some of the dirty practices then going forward, and

\* One of the servants.

“ had not been able to control a movement of  
“ impatience. ‘ These insects torment you ?  
“ crush them ! You have conquered the world,  
“ and you retreat before a set of spies ! I  
“ should settle them in a few hours.’ — ‘ By  
“ what means ?’ — ‘ A dungeon ! the gibbet !  
“ Marquises, Countesses—all should march to-  
“ gether to the gallows ! Nobody would stir  
“ after that, and Flint’s gold would have been  
“ spent in vain.’ His Majesty was growing  
“ very warm on the subject : I did not contra-  
“ dict him. His advice was good, no doubt,  
“ but it could not suit me : it is only a legiti-  
“ mate monarch who can put half his subjects  
“ in chains.”

It was late ; the Emperor went into his bedroom. There was nobody there to undress him, and I rang the bell ; but before I could call any one, his clothes were already flying about in all directions ; the furniture and the floor were strewn with them when Marchand came in. “ Ah ! you rogue,” said Napoleon to him, “ you  
“ were not there !—and the gnats ! take care,  
“ your ears shall pay for it if there are any  
“ under the gnat-curtain.” He laughed, got into bed, and attempted to arrange a sliding candlestick which he used at night ; but the

adjusting-screw being heated, he burned his hand, which he shook for a long time, joking with the servant, and accusing him of having formed a conspiracy against his fingers. "I am the victim of fire and gnats," said he; "sleep has fled: Doctor, you must suffer for it!" He got out of bed again, put on his dressing-gown and his flannel-bag, and threw himself into his arm-chair. "You have read the battles of Alexander?"—"No, Sire."—"Those of Cæsar?" He saw that my answer was going to be a negative, and continued, "Mine, at all events?"—"No, Sire; hitherto I have only had to deal with dead bodies."—"Very bad company, Doctor; but Montholon will give you a sketch of those campaigns which have shaken the world. I wish you to have some idea of them." And accordingly I afterwards received some lessons on the subject: but my conceptions are not warlike; I did not profit by my instructions, and confined myself to my scalpel—that is my staff of office.

The Emperor began to take a review of the situation of affairs, and the intrigues which had effected his downfall. "I was aware of those intrigues," said he; "I could have punished the leaders of them, and perhaps I ought to

“ have done so ; but executions were repug-  
“ nant to my feelings—I was averse to shed-  
“ ding blood.”

10th.—The Emperor complained of slight abdominal pains, which yielded to a bath and an enema. “ I am well,” said he ; “ I do not  
“ want any doctoring to-day ; go and take  
“ advantage of the *Sicilian’s* permission to visit  
“ the hospitals : I see one of his *Kalmoucks*  
“ coming ; probably it is the one appointed to  
“ watch over you.” Napoleon had guessed  
rightly ; it was Doctor Arnott, whom his Excel-  
lency had ordered to accompany me. I placed  
myself under his guidance, and we started.  
We went first to James Town, where I found  
nothing but dysentery, and acute and chronic  
hepatitis : nobody escaped the influence of the  
climate. There were, however, some cases of in-  
flammatory fevers, but the number of them was  
small. The hospital of James Town exhibited  
nothing that I had not under my eyes at Long-  
wood. I went to that of Deadwood. Here were  
the very same disorders as at James Town ; but  
so rapid in their progress, so terrible in their ef-  
fects, that one hour, one instant, was sufficient to  
upset the whole system of the animal economy,  
and render unavailing the most efficacious re-

medies. I never had a better opportunity of learning to appreciate the value of time, and the fatal consequences of delay.

Having seen and examined this hospital, and admired the order and regulations of the establishment, I proceeded back to Longwood. I was no longer in company with Dr. Arnott; but under the escort of a brave officer, with whom I soon began to enter into conversation. The rain had saturated the ground, and I felt impatient on seeing my horse floundering in the mire. "That is," said my companion, "the inconvenience of argillaceous soils; we must put up with it."—"Very well," answered I, "but persons perched on the summit of mountains ought not to be exposed to the inconveniencies to which plains are subject. We are now on a bank of clay; the rain does not penetrate into it; it either settles on the surface and makes it clammy, or slides over it from its summit to its base, and renders the whole extent of it greasy, slimy, and slippery." In conversing thus we reached a spot whence we discovered a prospect which offered to our view rocks half detached from their bases, and abysses of almost immeasurable depth. My guide examined and explained these convulsions of nature, with a de-



gree of care and pleasure which a geologist alone could feel in witnessing such a scene; expatiating on volcanos, lava, fissures, levels, &c. I could see that St. Helena is a volcanic production, and that was quite enough for me; I felt less interested about the interior than about the surface. I gazed upon that heap of rocks whose summits are lost in the clouds. I followed them, running in chains from east to west, breaking suddenly into bifurcated groups, advancing towards the south, bending towards the north, and offering a spectacle of disorder and confusion, of masses of needles, precipices, fragments, and mountains, seeming to dispute for space, which no other spot in the world could exhibit. "You would see much worse," said my guide, "if you were to climb to the top of Diana's Peak, whence your eye would compass the whole island."—"What could I possibly see worse than peaks and precipices, without a tree or any signs of vegetation? How dreary, how barren every thing appears! And could they . . . ?"—"Undoubtedly . . . ." We continued to advance; suddenly the prospect expanded, and the officer stopped to point out to me the picture before our eyes: it was composed of patches of verdure, with a few bullocks and rawboned horses grazing

on some scanty blades of grass growing on the brink of the precipices. "I see them," said I, "but do you observe where they are stuck up? Are those our consolations, our resources?"—"Resources! oh no, certainly not; every thing here is dry, and tough, however.... However, there is never either snow or thunder."—"I know it: but the rains are frequent, the winds impetuous, and the temperature in a perpetual state of variation. Sometimes you are in a hollow, where you choke; then in a current of air, where you are frozen; further on, in a thick fog. You are panting with heat, benumbed with cold, or wet through. In a few minutes you pass through all the degrees of the thermometrical scale. We have scarcely entered this mass of air, and already the moisture is condensed, and water streams down our clothes."—"It is not for its sudden transitions that the climate of St. Helena is commendable. I admit that the atmosphere is alternately frozen, warm, dry, and damp, and that these variations occur twenty times a day: nevertheless the hygrometer...." "Is a useless instrument in this case. [My boots supply the place of one; I take them off at night, clean and polished, and the next morning they are covered with mould. Do you think that indication is not as certain

as that of an hygrometer ? The Bedouins, encamped in the midst of the Desert, are at least sheltered from the inclemency of the weather ; but we are exposed to all the rigour of the seasons. . If it rains hard our roofs are immediately soaked through ; if, on the contrary, the sun shines upon them, the tar with which they are covered becomes liquid, runs, and destroys every thing.”—“ The situation is far from being a pleasant one ; but you are animated and upheld by a powerful sentiment. Besides, the heat does not last long at St. Helena ; and experience has proved, that the number of days when the sky is obscured with clouds is double the number of those when the sun shines in all its power.”—“ But the rain ? ”—“ Ah ! that, indeed, is our plague ; the rain here is almost incessant : it falls upon an average 135 days in the year. The celebrated Banks, desirous of knowing the quantity of rain that falls on these mountains, sent out from London instruments to measure it with precision ; and it was found to be 33° 38 inches—12° 13 inches more than in England. Every thing around us is very unlike the beautiful climate of Italy ; and, above all, very different from the circumstances in which he was placed in that country at a

certain period, when his ascendancy there was all powerful. I then fought under other banners; we were numerous, resolute, and determined to conquer; but his dispositions were so skilful, and his movements so prompt and rapid, that we were always beaten. It was in vain that we excited the nations to war: he disarmed them with a proclamation—calmed them with an order of the day. I recollect still his beautiful address to the inhabitants of Carinthia,\* and the effect it produced.

11th.—The Emperor has had a good night.—Bath—usual exercise.

“ Well, Doctor,” said he to me, “ what have  
“ you observed?” I gave him in a few words an  
account of what I had seen. “ You are a dunce,  
“ Sir: Bathurst would even say a dishonest  
“ man, a traitor! Liver complaints! why they  
“ are unknown in the island. Ask the Go-  
“ vernor, the Minister, ask all England? This  
“ is the most salubrious spot on the globe! It  
“ has been chosen by the pupils of Pitt; you  
“ may rely upon their sagacity. Do you not  
“ know that hepatitis is not tolerated at St.  
“ Helena?—that Sir Hudson will not admit  
“ those kinds of disorders; and that he forbids

\* See *Las Cases*.—Vol. II. Part iv. page 23.

“ the approach of the coasts to them ? Every  
“ disease has permission to put in here, except  
“ diseases of the liver ! Madame Montholon  
“ thought proper when here, some time ago, to  
“ suffer from an affection which she had already  
“ laboured under at Paris. She complained of  
“ it, and asked to return to Europe ; but was  
“ told that it was all idea and imagination ; and  
“ her doctor was severely reprimanded. He  
“ soon acknowledged his error, and the seat of  
“ complaint was removed to some other place.  
“ It was no longer the liver that was affected,  
“ but another organ, I forget which,—and that  
“ alone. His Excellency then assented, and  
“ granted a passage.—Ah ! Doctor, what men  
“ we have to deal with !—To transform the air  
“ into an instrument of murder, is an idea that  
“ never occurred to even the most ferocious  
“ of our Pro-consuls ; it could only originate  
“ on the banks of the Thames ! How wrong  
“ I was to . . . . !—But events were following  
“ each other so rapidly that I had not time to  
“ reflect, or to make any arrangements.”

12th.—The Emperor is every day better. After his bath he went out into the garden, whither I followed him. He first spoke of Corsica ; and described, in glowing language,

its sites, its valleys, its mountains : then passing suddenly from his country to his family, he said, " You have resided a long time in Florence ; you know that my family is originally from that place ? " — " Yes, Sire ; your family was patrician, and ranked one of the first there. " — " Do you know the house they inhabited ? " — " It is a monument, Sire ; a curiosity which does not escape the notice of any body. " — " It is in the centre of the town, is it not ? and has a coat of arms sculptured in stone on the front ? " — " Yes, Sire ; and it is preserved entire. " — " When I passed through Florence, on my march to Leghorn, I was strongly invited to see it ; but I was so busy, so overburthened with affairs, that I could not go. The day of my departure, I went in the evening to San Miniato, where I had an old relation, a canon, and the last shoot of the Tuscan branch of Bonapartes, and whom I therefore wished to visit. We were welcomed, and a most delicious repast was set before us. Having satisfied our appetite, we began to chatter ; we were all young, cheerful, noisy, and as republican as Brutus ; and some expressions escaped us now and then, which were not very sanctified. But the good old

“ man was not at all disconcerted ; he listened,  
“ replied, and threw out from time to time some  
“ reflections, which struck us by their justness.  
“ My staff were delighted to see a priest without  
“ bigotry, and the bottle circulated freely : we  
“ drank his health, and he drank to the success  
“ of our arms. The conversation was enlivened  
“ by jest and pleasantry, and we had an oppor-  
“ tunity of observing the excellent judgment  
“ and the amenity of this worthy Canon. My  
“ officers were quite reconciled to his gown,  
“ and he did not take offence at our military  
“ irreverence. He tried to detain us the fol-  
“ lowing day ; but the troops were on the march,  
“ and we told him that we were obliged to go,  
“ but should see him again on our way back.  
“ We were fearful that the good old man had  
“ not beds enough for so numerous a retinue,  
“ and requested him not to be concerned about  
“ our sleeping ; that we were accustomed to  
“ lead a soldier’s life, and should be satisfied  
“ with a bundle of straw to stretch ourselves  
“ upon. ‘ No,’ replied he ; ‘ my house is plain,  
“ but large enough to lodge you all ;’ and he  
“ accompanied every one of us, in turn, to the  
“ room he had prepared for us, and wished us a  
“ good night. I went to bed ; but had not yet

“ put out the light, when I heard a knock at my  
“ door : I thought it was Berthier, but it was  
“ the worthy prelate himself, who came to ask  
“ me to grant him a few minutes’ conversation.  
“ He had begun at table to speak about genea-  
“ logy ; but a discussion of that nature could  
“ only be attended with unpleasant consequences  
“ in the situation in which I then was, and I  
“ therefore made a sign to him to desist, which  
“ he did. I now dreaded that he was going to  
“ begin again the subject which I had thus  
“ avoided ; but I did not, however, let him per-  
“ ceive my fears, and requested him to sit down,  
“ assuring him that I should hear with great  
“ pleasure what he had to say. He began by  
“ speaking about the protection which Heaven  
“ had extended towards me, promising a con-  
“ tinuance of the same protection, if I would  
“ undertake a pious act, which would not cost  
“ me much. I had listened patiently to the  
“ recital of the history of all the Bonapartes,  
“ and of the actions of one of them ; and was  
“ at a loss to guess what he was driving at,  
“ when he suddenly told me, in a kind of ec-  
“ stasy, that he was about to show me a docu-  
“ ment of infinite value. I certainly thought  
“ he was going to produce the pedigree of the



“ family, and the fear I had to offend the old  
“ gentleman was scarcely sufficient to suppress  
“ a burst of laughter, which was rising in spite  
“ of myself; but, to my great surprise, instead  
“ of a parchment, or a grotesque diploma, some-  
“ thing still more comical made its appearance—  
“ being no less than a memoir in favour of a  
“ Father Bonaventure, whose beatification had  
“ been long since acknowledged, but whose name  
“ had not yet been inscribed in the Calendar,  
“ on account of the excessive expense required  
“ for the ceremony of canonization. ‘Ask the  
“ Pope to proclaim him,’ said the worthy canon;  
“ ‘he will grant your request; and, perhaps, it  
“ will cost nothing, or at least very little; out  
“ of consideration for you, his Holiness will not  
“ refuse to place another saint in Heaven. Ah!  
“ dear kinsman, you do not know what it is to  
“ have a saint in one’s family! It is to him—  
“ to Saint Bonaventure—that you owe the suc-  
“ cess of your arms; it was he that conducted  
“ you and directed you in the midst of your  
“ battles: and be assured also, that the visit you  
“ are now paying is not the effect of chance;  
“ no, dear kinsman! it was again St. Bonaven-  
“ ture who inspired you, in order that you  
“ might have an opportunity of knowing his

“ merit, and of returning good for good, service  
“ for service: Do, therefore, for him with the  
“ Pope, what he has done for you with God.’ I  
“ felt strongly inclined to laugh at the pious  
“ eloquence and the earnestness of the old man;  
“ but he was so sincere in his belief, that it  
“ would have gone against my conscience to  
“ wound his feelings. I therefore answered  
“ him with fair words, alleging the spirit of the  
“ age and the cares of the war, and promised  
“ him to take up the affair of St. Bonaventure  
“ as soon as the state of irreverence of the pub-  
“ lic mind should be less strongly pronounced.  
“ ‘ Dear kinsman,’ said he, ‘ you satisfy my  
“ most ardent wishes; allow me to embrace  
“ you: you take the interests of Heaven to  
“ heart, and I predict that success will crown  
“ your enterprises. I am old, and shall per-  
“ haps not see the effect of your promises;  
“ but I rely upon them, and shall die happy.’  
“ He then gave me his benediction; I wished  
“ him a good night, and he retired. I endea-  
“ voured to sleep, but could not, the adventure  
“ was so singular; and I thought the fancy so  
“ odd a one for the times in which we were  
“ living, that I had scarcely closed my eyes  
“ when Berthier came into my apartment.

“ The other Generals soon came in also ; and  
“ my staff being assembled, I related the  
“ conversation I had had with the Canon.  
“ The solicitations of the good old man, his  
“ ambition, his way of accounting for our vic-  
“ tories, excited the mirth of every one. We  
“ laughed, we joked, we expatiated on the wor-  
“ thy Canon, and on the Saint who was fighting  
“ for us with all his might. If the Canon had  
“ heard us !—if he had known how devout I  
“ was !

“ We were going to set off, and I was desi-  
“ rous of leaving the Canon a token of remem-  
“ brance and of satisfaction for the reception we  
“ had met with. But what could I offer him  
“ except the legend ? I thought in vain, when  
“ suddenly I recollected that I could dispose of  
“ a cross of St. Stephen. I dictated a few  
“ words to Berthier, a courier was dispatched,  
“ and we took our leave of the old man, who  
“ embraced us, and gave us his benediction. In  
“ a few days after, the cross was sent to him.

“ We proceeded to Leghorn, where a scene  
“ of another description took place. The town  
“ was governed by a man whose character I  
“ have had an opportunity of appreciating since  
“ my downfall. I had but little to fear from

“ him then ; but he had not been favourably  
“ spoken of to me ; my troops were extenuated,  
“ and time was precious. Unwilling to be  
“ exposed to useless chicanery, I sent for him ;  
“ I loaded him with reproaches, and got rid of  
“ him. However, I went too far ; I exceeded  
“ all bounds : I had only intended to remove  
“ him—but I ill-treated him. I was wrong :  
“ and I have been enabled to convince myself  
“ since that Spanochi was full of loyalty and  
“ noble sentiments ; I had proofs of it at Elba.

“ The adventure of San Miniato was soon  
“ forgotten in the multiplicity of affairs which  
“ assailed me, and which left me no time to  
“ amuse myself about those of the legend. The  
“ Pope, however, had abundance of leisure ;  
“ and having crowned the grand-nephew, he  
“ would have had no objection to canonize  
“ the grand-uncle. He spoke to me about it,  
“ and repeated the homily of the Canon. But  
“ the ranks of Heaven occupied me less than  
“ those of this world ; I therefore turned a deaf  
“ ear to his Holiness, and left to the Consistory  
“ the care of its own promotions.”

13th.—Same state of the Emperor's health.  
Bath and exercise as usual.

Sir Hudson could no longer close his eyes :

whenever his soldiers met our priests, they ran and knelt down before them ; they were seduced or sold, and England was lost ! It was in vain that he used increased vigilance, reprimands, or punishment : piety prevailed over fear, holy-water over flogging ; and no sooner did his Irishmen perceive the cassock than they prostrated themselves, kissed the hands and feet of the missionaries, and craved their benediction. The Governor, overcome by the obstinacy of the troops, laid the blame upon the missionaries, and caused them to be closely watched. The Emperor could not possibly see what importance could be attached to that interchange of agnuses and genuflexions, and felt hurt at the manner in which the missionaries were treated. “ I shall not allow that heretic to humble the tiara of St. Peter,” said he to me laughing ; “ the Pope and Consistory would never forgive me, were I to put up with these insults : call the priests.” Buonavita came, and received orders never to go beyond the limits. “ Let people say, after that, that I do not take care to cause the Church to be respected.”

14th.—The Emperor had been tolerably well all day yesterday, and part of the night. This morning he was rather dejected ; and after

having taken a few turns he came into the house again, breakfasted, and went into his apartment. “I feel uncomfortable,” said he; “I should wish to sleep, to read, to do—I don’t know what. Ring for Marchand; let him bring me some books, and close the windows. I shall go to bed, and see in a little while whether I am better. But here is Racine, Doctor. Now, you are on the stage, and I am listening. Andromache!—ah! that is the play for unfortunate fathers.”—“Sire, if it were Metastasio!”—“Oh, you are afraid of your accent? The metre of the poetry will conceal your Italian inflexions—Begin.” I hesitated, and he took the book, read a few lines, and let the volume escape from his hands. He had fallen upon this celebrated passage\*:

“Je passais jusqu’aux lieux où l’on garde mon fils.

“Puisqu’une fois le jour vous souffrez que je voie

“Le seul bien qui me reste et d’Hector et de Troie,

“J’allais, Seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui.

“Je ne l’ai point encore embrassé d’aujourd’hui.”

He was greatly affected, and hid his face.

“Doctor,” said he, “I am too agitated; leave

\* Act I. Scene IV.

“me alone.” I withdrew. He became more calm, slept a few minutes, and sent for me again. Sleep had dispelled his indisposition, and he was less gloomy and agitated. He was going to shave; and as I had heard that this ceremony was singular, I remained to witness it. He was in his shirt, his head uncovered, and two servants by the side of him; one held the looking-glass and towel, the other the remainder of the apparatus. The Emperor soaped half his face, gave back the brush, wiped his hands and his mouth, took a razor which had been dipped in warm water and shaved the right side of his face with an uncommon degree of dexterity. —“Is it ready, Noveraz?” —“Yes, Sire.” —“Well! now face about—there, halt!” The light fell upon the left side of his face, which he shaved with the same ceremonies and the same promptitude. The expression of his countenance was full of kindness. He passed his hand over his chin.—“Hold the glass up; am I well shaved?” —“Yes, that is right. Not a hair has escaped, what say you?” —“No, Sire,” said the servant.—“No? I think I see some. Hold the glass up higher—place it in a better light. How is this, rogue—you flatter, you deceive me, here at St. Helena! on this rock! and you!

“you are an accomplice ;” and at the same time he gave little blows to both, gently boxed their ears, laughed, made them laugh, and pursued them in the most comical manner. After this he took a tooth-pick, then brushed his teeth, and washed his mouth with a mixture of brandy and cold water, part of which he swallowed. I asked him why he did not reject the whole. “Bécause,” said he, “what does good to the gums, cannot do any harm to the stomach. “Is it not odd that I have never been able to “use any thing but cold water to wash my “mouth? Tepid water occasions a convulsive “cough, hot water produces vomiting ; and I “never could gargle without running the risk of “choking, or swallowing the gargle, even if it “were poisonous.” And I observed, indeed, that part of the liquid being raised by the epiglottis, fell through the aperture of the glottis into the larynx, and produced the cough, the efforts and the vomiting.

Whilst I was speaking with the Emperor, Marchand had prepared in the next room his sponge, his wash-hand stand and his clothes. He passed into it ; and washed his face and head, throwing the flannel far from him after he had done. “You see, Doctor,” said he, “fine



“arms, breast plump and rounded, skin white.  
“And my hand, how many amongst the fair  
“sex would be jealous of it!” The servant  
was washing his skin, and Napoleon was passing in review the charms and the defects of some European ladies, interrupting his description to stimulate his servant, taking it up again, and again discontinuing:—“Madame ———  
“was lively, animated, . . . harder, you rascal, . . .  
“and was very anxious to have a child of the  
“race of heroes . . . harder, I tell you, as if you  
“were scrubbing an ass . . . she came one day . . .  
“but that fellow does not brush me. . . . Doctor, I will relate that to you another time . . .  
“get out of the way, let me punish this fellow’s shoulders for having spared mine as  
“he has done;” and in saying this he gently pulled the servant’s ears, and gave him some slight blows. “Now let us see what the  
“correction has produced—give me the Eau de  
“Cologne.”—Having caused some to be poured on his hands and washed part of his body with it, he put on a flannel waistcoat, silk stockings, breeches of white kerseymere, shoes with gold buckles, a black stock, a white waistcoat, the riband of the grand cross of the Legion of Honour, which he constantly wore when he was

not in an undress, a green coat, and the cocked hat; and his dress was complete. "Now, Doctor," said he, "the remainder of the day is ours; no more working, no more reading! As soon as I am *en costume*, I either receive visits or walk about; I think no more about any thing."

15th. —The Emperor had slept but little. The pain in the liver had become more acute.—Bath as usual.

I had seen Madame Bertrand the day before, and found her suffering more than usual. Napoleon was uneasy about her, and apprehensive that her complaint might take a serious turn.—"Is your patient better? does the pain subside a little?"—"No, Sire, her strength is declining, and she is a prey to all the malignant influence of the latitude in which we are living."—"Do you, then, entertain any apprehensions for her life?"—"No, Sire, I do not mean that exactly; but the organs are wearing, and the action of this fatal climate upon them is unceasing."—"Undoubtedly the situation is horrible: we men are accustomed to pain and privations, and can bear them; but a woman, deprived all at once of every thing that tends to render life cheerful and agreeable, transported to a frightful rock,—how much more

“ she is to be pitied, and how much resigna-  
“ tion she requires! Madame Bertrand rises  
“ late, her illness obliges her to remain in bed;  
“ she cannot attend at mass, and yet she would  
“ perhaps be glad to hear it said? I did not  
“ reflect that she is an invalid, when I fixed  
“ the hour of the service; I only considered the  
“ great age of the good old Abbé. Tell her  
“ that I order Vignali to go and officiate at her  
“ house, and let her inform Vignali of the hour  
“ that suits her; that priest is henceforth at her  
“ disposal. He may do as we do, construct a  
“ moveable altar, or use ours, and place it in an  
“ apartment of the Grand Marshal’s house. Any  
“ person may go to that mass whom the Coun-  
“ tess thinks proper to admit; but for my part  
“ I persist that nobody shall attend at mine, ex-  
“ cept those persons whom I shall have invited.  
“ By the by, the Abbés instruct the children,  
“ do they not? Does little Arthur read?—  
“ does he begin to spell at least?”—“ I suppose  
so, Sire; the priests seem to take a great deal of  
pains with them.”

16th.—The Emperor a little better. The  
pain in the liver had become bearable.—Bath.

The Emperor was at his desk. Around him

were rulers and compasses, and he twisted in his fingers a pencil, the instrument he habitually wrote with, very seldom using pen and ink for that purpose. I perceived plans, sketches, and algebraic formulæ; but Napoleon whistled, and that announced a storm. I said nothing; we always guessed the sensations which agitated him, by his manner of applying to work. If his application was serious, we could judge that he was suffering, and the subject before him difficult. If, on the contrary, his application was slight and cheerful; if we heard him hum a few lines of some lively Italian air, we knew that his sufferings and recollections were suspended, and that he was restored to his usual amenity of disposition. But if the air resounded through his lips, he was crossed, displeased, out of temper, and only waited an opportunity or a word to break out. Woe to whoever was then in the way!—he had to weather a squall! I was not anxious to find myself exposed to one, but that was, however, going to happen. Napoleon was shaking an oblong-shaped snuff-box to and fro: I seized the opportunity, and ventured to say a word respecting the inconvenience of snuff.—“Poh! sheer medical importance! As if I took

“ any snuff! I wear this box, Mr. Doctor, on  
“ account of the medallions that are mounted  
“ upon it, [they represented Alexander, Cæsar,  
“ Mithridates, &c. :] but as to snuff, I am weeks  
“ together without taking any — I merely  
“ smell it.”

He threw himself upon his sofa, opened at random the second volume of his unpublished correspondence, meditated, and then, as if struck with something, his countenance and manners assumed a milder aspect, and he began to read aloud :—

“ ‘ 13th Vendémiaire, VIIth Year  
of the Republic.

“ ‘ TO GENERAL KLEBER.

“ ‘ I am afraid that a certain degree of cold-  
“ ness subsists between us; you would be un-  
“ just to doubt how grieved I should be to find  
“ that such is the case.

“ ‘ In the climate of Egypt, clouds, when there  
“ are any, disappear in six hours; if there were  
“ any on my side, they would pass away in  
“ three. The sentiments of esteem which I  
“ entertain for you, are at least equal to those  
“ which you have sometimes manifested for  
“ me.’

“ What say you, Doctor? ought not Kleber  
“ after that to have discarded all recollection of  
“ some discussions we had had on the subject  
“ of the administration of Alexandria?”—“ I  
should think so, Sire.”—“ He was as enduring  
“ as a Doctor whose prescriptions are ques-  
“ tioned. You shall see how he had replied to  
“ my reproaches :—

“ ‘ TO GENERAL BONAPARTE.

“ ‘ You forgot, Citizen-General, when you  
“ wrote, that you were furnishing materials for  
“ history, and that you were writing to Kleber.  
“ I do not, however, suppose that any unex-  
“ pressed thought or meaning lurks beneath  
“ your words : you would not be believed.’

“ ‘ You would not be believed!’ Do you ob-  
“ serve the noble confidence, the pride of a brave  
“ man! No, certainly I should not have been  
“ believed, and I should have been extremely  
“ grieved if I had been. I complained of want  
“ of economy, but did not impute malversa-  
“ tion. But such was Kleber—ardent, impe-  
“ tuous, and easily acted upon; and intrigue  
“ took advantage of this disposition.”

17th.—Same state of Napoleon’s health.—  
Bath.

The Emperor spoke again of his abdication, and expatiated on the intrigues and illusions which existed at that epoch. I expressed my surprise that men of experience and business—that Sebastiani, that Lafayette, should have been duped by Fouché; that they should have confounded epochs so far as to imagine that the Allied Powers would grant after a defeat, what five years of victories could scarcely obtain from them. “True,” said Napoleon; “the deputation was an absurd one, and their simplicity unequalled. But, as the inhabitants of Vienna said on the occasion of the prisoners of Olmutz, Lafayette leaves behind him two daughters who will protect his memory: ‘the declaration of rights,’ and ‘the institution of the national guard.’”

18th.—The Emperor complained of having experienced violent pain in the liver during the night. His palate and gums were in a state of irritation arising from catarrh. I prescribed proper remedies, and he took his usual bath.

19th.—The Emperor better. After his bath he spent the day in sleeping or reading.

20th.—Napoleon in the same state. He was

in a very gloomy mood, and having taken a bath, remained the whole day in close application.

21st.—The Emperor better. He took a walk after the bath, and exercise restored his strength and enlivened his spirits. I was standing near him, he came up to me and pushed me against the wall, lifting up his hand—"Great rogue of a "*Dottoraccio*, you physic me! What do you "  
"say about my chest? What do you think of my "  
"lungs? You, who know the human frame, say, "  
"shall I die of a pulmonary complaint? What "  
"is the decision of Galen?"—"That with a voice like yours, there is no fear of consumption."—"But this liver of mine?"—His attitude, the sound of his voice, were quite changed; and he held his hand on the right hypochondriac region. "There is the seat of the disorder—" "  
"that is the assailable part of the armour; the "  
"climate has laid hold of it. . . . Well, let us "  
"think no more about it. England will soon "  
"reap the reward of her ignominy."

22d.—Napoleon complained of an acute pain in the liver; which also extended over the whole of the right side, up to the shoulder.—  
Bath.



After a short time he felt a little better, and took up his correspondence again :—

“ ‘ Alexandria, 17 Brumaire, VIIth Year  
of the Republic.

“ ‘ MY DEAR GENERAL . . . ’

“ ‘ Who is this ? ’—He looked for the signature.—“ Marmont !—ah ! yes !

“ ‘ It is more than probable that the English  
“ have collected the ships that are before Alex-  
“ andria, have obliged them to come here, and  
“ have completely deceived them with a false  
“ declaration of war. Hassan Bey appears to  
“ be so completely the dupe of the English,  
“ that it would be impossible to persuade him  
“ that we are on good terms with the Porte. . . .’  
“ See ! how incredulous !—‘ The citizen Bruce-  
“ vich has read very attentively the manifesto  
“ of the Porte. It is well drawn up, in the  
“ usual form, and in a style truly Oriental ;  
“ but none but a Turk could be deceived by  
“ such a snare.’—What sagacity !—‘ Ibrahim  
“ Aga has spoken to Hassan Bey, and thinks  
“ he is duped by the English ; yet he seems  
“ to entertain some apprehensions respecting  
“ the dispositions of the Porte towards us.—  
“ I know not how that may be ; but every

“ thing that occurs here bears the character of  
“ falsehood and imposture.’—What could be the  
“ object of this?—Manscourt was removed!

“ ‘ It appears to me that the English have, by  
“ force, and with the help of false representa-  
“ tions, caused the Turkish sloop of war to  
“ approach the port, and to fire upon us, in  
“ order to induce us to return the fire; and  
“ prove thereby to these Turks, that we are  
“ their enemies. If that be the case, it is one  
“ of Machiavelism, quite consistent with the  
“ English character!’

“ And very much like the machinations of  
“ Brienne. — Marmont wished very much for  
“ the governorship of Alexandria; and Mans-  
“ court was consequently misrepresented, ca-  
“ lumniated, and superseded. I had no idea  
“ that I was deceived; and that it was an  
“ affair concerted with Menou.—Were you at  
“ Florence when that Osmanlis was sent there  
“ as governor?—Did you know him?”—“ Yes,  
Sire.”—“ What was the opinion entertained  
“ respecting him?”—“ The opinion that can be  
formed from a life of luxury and scandal?”—  
“ What kind of life, then, did that old original  
“ lead?” — “ He was ever surrounded by cour-

tezans ; one of whom he kept in the palace, where she presided over the *fêtes* and parties of the Governor, who took her every where with him : it was one continued scene of debauchery."

—" I recognize in that description the faithful  
" Abdalla !—But after he had been recalled ?"—

" Every impropriety ceased, the courtezans disappeared, Princess Eliza renewed the furniture which they had polluted, and Menou was no longer thought of but by his creditors !"—" Of  
" whom no doubt he had a host ?"—" A great many, Sire."—" Quite like him ; voluptuous  
" and prodigal, and lavish in expressions of  
" sentiments of morality : he always spent  
" double the amount of his income. — How  
" often have I paid his debts ! Did the Flo-  
" rentines know that he had turned Mussul-  
" man ?"—" It was said of him,—of you, Sire, and of all the army." — " Oh, that might be  
" for Menou ; but for me and my staff, we  
" had no time to lose in ablutions.

" When I entered Cairo, the Turks, who had  
" measured my stature by the fame of my vic-  
" tories, thought I was at least six feet high !  
" When they saw me, I was much lowered in  
" their estimation. I was neither so tall nor  
" so stout as one of their Mamelukes : I could

“ not possibly command an army ! The Imans  
“ excited the people to revolt ; it became ne-  
“ cessary to oppose artifice to artifice, and I  
“ pretended to be inspired.”

He began to turn the leaves rapidly over ;  
and having met the place he was looking for,  
he read :—

“ ‘ Cherifs, Ulemas, Orators of the Mosques !  
“ Impress on the minds of the people, that  
“ those who shall wilfully declare against me,  
“ will have no repose either in this world, or  
“ the world to come ! Is there a man blind  
“ enough not to see that fate itself directs my  
“ operations ? Is there a man incredulous  
“ enough to doubt that every thing in this vast  
“ universe is subject to the influence of fate ?

“ ‘ Let the people know that it is written  
“ ever since the creation of the world, that  
“ after having destroyed all the enemies of  
“ Islamism, and cast down the cross, I should  
“ come from the West to fulfil the task which  
“ has been assigned to me ! Show them  
“ that in more than twenty passages of that  
“ holy book, the Koran, what happens now is  
“ foreseen ; and what will happen hereafter,  
“ explained . . . .

“ ‘ I might ask every one of you to render an

“ account of the most secret sentiments of his  
“ heart; for I know every thing, even that  
“ which you have not said to any body! But  
“ the day will come, when it will be evident to  
“ all that I am led on by a superior power;  
“ and that all human efforts are unavailing  
“ against me!”

“ The artillery of the Mokatan, the noise of  
“ thunder which broke out very opportunely,  
“ the diamonds of Malta which I distributed  
“ amongst the men possessing the greatest  
“ influence, my confidence, the language I  
“ held, all concurred, and dispelled the in-  
“ surrection! I was henceforth a friend of the  
“ Prophet: inspired, and sent by God. All the  
“ Cheicks were devoted to me. They, however,  
“ embarrassed me, by proposing to me to pro-  
“ claim Islamism, and to take the turban.—  
“ ‘We will see,’ said I.—‘You would have one  
“ hundred thousand men!’—‘I shall think about  
“ it.’—‘The whole of Arabia would range it-  
“ self under your banners!’—‘But absti-  
“ nence? — We are from the West, and  
“ should perish if we did not drink wine.’—  
“ ‘The use of wine may be tolerated.’—‘And  
“ circumcision?’ — ‘Is not indispensable.’ I  
“ was thus forced from every entrenchment; I

“ no longer knew what to say, or what ob-  
“ stacle to invent; and was obliged to have  
“ recourse to a subterfuge: ‘ If such be the  
“ case,’ said I, ‘ we are all Mussulmen! But  
“ the ceremony of our conversion must be  
“ great and imposing, and marked by acts of  
“ piety. I shall order a mosque to be built,  
“ finer than St. Sophia; and it shall be conse-  
“ crated for that occasion.’ The Imans were  
“ satisfied; and consented to what they had,  
“ till then, obstinately refused. They offered  
“ up prayers for me to the Prophet: the people  
“ respected me and obeyed me; and I did every  
“ thing I wished. I thus profited by the stu-  
“ pidity of the Mussulmen, and amused myself  
“ at their expense; but I made no profession,  
“ and never appeared in the mosque to pray.

“ But for the circumstances that imperiously  
“ commanded my return to France, the affairs  
“ of Egypt would have taken a very different  
“ turn; and they never would have had the  
“ déplorable issue they had, if Kleber had not  
“ fallen under the dagger of an assassin. It  
“ required but very limited talents to throw the  
“ English at Aboukir into the sea; beat the  
“ Turks, if they came out of the Desert; and  
“ go and compound with the Sepoys, who came

“ down from Upper Egypt: but the incapacity  
“ of Menou was beyond all calculation, and he  
“ ruined every thing.”

23d. The Emperor better.—Bath.

Napoleon had sent for the children of the Grand-Marshal.—He played and frolicked with them; and excited them himself to be noisy. Little Arthur got out of temper, and began to grumble. “What is the matter with you, little urchin?—What do you say?” said the Emperor to him, making him jump and laugh at the same time in spite of himself.—“This little fellow,” said Napoleon to me, “is as independent as I was at his age; but the fits of passion to which I often gave way, proceeded from more excusable motives: I leave you to judge.—I had been placed in a school of young ladies, the mistress of which was known to our family; and being a pretty boy, and the only one there, I was caressed by every one of my fair schoolfellows. I might generally be seen with my stockings down, and covering half my shoes; and in our walks I constantly held the hand of a charming little girl, who was the cause of many broils and quarrels. My malicious comrades, jealous of my Giacomietta, combined these

“ two circumstances together in a song which  
“ they made, and whenever I appeared in the  
“ street they followed me, singing, “ *Napoleone*  
“ ‘ *di mezza calzetta, fa l’amore a Giacomini-*  
“ *netta!*’ I could not bear to be laughed at ;  
“ and seizing sticks or stones, or any thing that  
“ came in my way, I rushed into the midst  
“ of the crowd : fortunately it always happen-  
“ ed that somebody interfered, and got me out  
“ of the scrape ; but the number opposed to  
“ me never stopped me—I never reckoned how  
“ many they were.”

The children withdrew, and the conversation then became serious, and turned by degrees upon the events which followed the return from Egypt. The Emperor entered into numerous details relative to the battle of Marengo, and gave an account of that day very similar to what I had already heard.

“ The army of reserve assembled at Dijon  
“ enabled me to pass rapidly into Germany or  
“ Italy, as circumstances might require. The  
“ season favoured me a little, for the monks of  
“ St. Bernard assured me that the snow dis-  
“ appeared that year twenty days sooner than  
“ usual. Our army, harassed by the passage  
“ of the Alps, was very well received by these



“ monks. I had informed them of our ap-  
“ proach, and sent them money, and they sup-  
“ plied us with provisions and excellent wine.  
“ The monks of St. Bernard form an order of  
“ the highest respectability ; and their establish-  
“ ment is one of those institutions which go-  
“ vernments should never destroy, but on the  
“ contrary protect and encourage by every  
“ means in their power.

“ On entering Italy I found myself imme-  
“ diately on the rear of the enemy, and master  
“ of his magazines and equipage. I had ob-  
“ tained great advantages ; and once, at Stra-  
“ della, the campaign might be considered as  
“ closed. Had Genoa held out, I should have  
“ remained firm in my entrenched camp of  
“ Stradella, one of the strongest positions of  
“ Italy. I had on the Po five bridges, which  
“ facilitated my communication with the divi-  
“ sions of Chabrun, Lapoype, Turreau, and  
“ Moncey, which I might call to my assist-  
“ ance if attacked ; or assist, if the enemy an-  
“ noyed them. To re-establish his communi-  
“ cations, M. de Melas would have been obliged  
“ to offer me battle on ground chosen by my-  
“ self, being a plain intersected with woods,  
“ very favourable to my infantry, but in which

“ his cavalry could do nothing, whilst I had  
“ all my troops at my disposal.

“ The capture of Genoa entirely changed the  
“ face of affairs. From that moment the ene-  
“ my had a secure retreat and very advantageous  
“ positions : he could retire to Genoa and de-  
“ fend himself there, by receiving provisions  
“ by sea ; or place batteries on the heights of  
“ Babbio, and in spite of all my efforts enter  
“ Placentia,—retake Mantua and Peschiera,—  
“ place himself in communication with Austria,  
“ and oblige me to carry on a defensive war :  
“ —my plan of campaign was frustrated. An  
“ expedient offered itself to my mind, and I  
“ resolved to risk the attempt. I left Milan,  
“ made 32 leagues in seven hours, and fought  
“ the battle of Montebello.—We won it ; and  
“ that victory obliged the enemy to evacuate  
“ Genoa ; but it also weakened my army,  
“ and I was reduced to draw reinforcements  
“ from the divisions stationed on the other  
“ side of the Po, to defend the entrance into  
“ the Milanese States. It is true that these  
“ divisions were not more than three leagues  
“ from me ; but they could not join me under  
“ three days’ march, being obliged to pass

“ through Placentia or Stradella. Another  
“ circumstance also operated against me. The  
“ country between Montebello and Alessandria  
“ is an extensive plain, very favourable to the  
“ German cavalry. I nevertheless made up  
“ my mind to make a partial attack, for I was  
“ placed in an extraordinary situation, and risk-  
“ ed little to gain a great deal.—If I should be  
“ beaten, I retired to my entrenched camp  
“ at Stradella, crossed the Po over my five  
“ bridges, protected by my batteries, without  
“ the possibility of opposition on the part of  
“ the enemy ; joined my first division with the  
“ corps of Moncey, Lecchy, and Turreau ; al-  
“ lowed one of the corps of Melas to pass the  
“ Po (which was all he wished for), and then  
“ superior in number, I could attack him with  
“ all my forces. — If I should be victorious,  
“ I obtained the same results. The army of  
“ Melas, blocked up between us and the river,  
“ would have been obliged to lay down its arms,  
“ and to surrender all its forts.—Had I been  
“ beaten, which I think was impossible, I should  
“ have engaged a *regular* war, and called in  
“ the aid of Switzerland.

“ Determined to give battle, I ordered an  
“ account to be presented to me of the effective

“ state of my army. I had altogether twenty-  
“ six thousand men, and Melas had forty thou-  
“ sand ; of whom eighteen thousand were ca-  
“ valry.—At two o’clock in the morning a  
“ report was brought to me that the enemy had  
“ attacked our vanguard, and that our troops  
“ were giving way. The French soldier does  
“ not like to be attacked ; our troops were fall-  
“ ing back rather in disorder, the enemy had  
“ already taken some prisoners, and we had lost  
“ a league and a half of ground in our retreat.

“ The generals commanding the vanguard,  
“ Lannes, Murat, and Berthier, sent me mes-  
“ sage after message, informing me that their  
“ troops were flying, and that they could not  
“ stop them.—They asked me to send them  
“ reinforcements, and entreated me to march  
“ with my reserve. I answered to all, ‘ Hold  
“ out as long as you can ; and when you can  
“ no longer maintain your ground, retire.’ I  
“ perceived that the Austrians had not engaged  
“ their reserve ; and in such cases the great  
“ point is to endeavour to oblige the enemy to  
“ employ all his forces, whilst we husband our  
“ own, and to induce him to attack our  
“ flanks before he perceives his mistake ; for  
“ the difficulty is to force him to bring for-

“ward his reserve. The enemy had forty-four  
“thousand men against twenty thousand at  
“most, and even those twenty thousand were  
“in disorder. Melas had, therefore, only to  
“follow up his success.—I placed myself in  
“front of the first legion, in a rich uniform, and  
“at the head of a demi-brigade attacked and  
“drove back the Austrians, and broke through  
“their ranks. Melas, seeing me at the head  
“of my army, and his own legions repulsed,  
“thought that I had arrived with my reserve  
“to stop the troops that were retreating; and,  
“therefore, advanced with the whole of his  
“own reserve, consisting of six thousand Hun-  
“garian grenadiers, the flower of his infantry.  
“This corps filled up the gap I had made,  
“and attacked us in our turn.—I then gave  
“way, and during a retreat of half a league,  
“exposed to their fire, I rallied the whole  
“army, and re-formed its line of battle. As  
“soon as I had joined my reserve, consisting  
“of six thousand men and 15 pieces of can-  
“non, under the orders of Dessaix, who was  
“then my sheet-anchor, by a rapid manœu-  
“vre I deployed all my forces, formed with  
“my army the two wings of the division of  
“Dessaix, and opposed to the enemy six thou-

“ sand men of fresh troops. A powerful dis-  
“ charge of artillery, and a desperate charge  
“ with bayonets, broke through their line and  
“ cut off the two wings.—I then ordered  
“ Kellerman to attack with eight hundred  
“ horse; he advanced, and with these eight  
“ hundred horse separated the six thousand  
“ Hungarian grenadiers from the remainder  
“ of the army, before the very eyes of the  
“ Austrian cavalry. This cavalry, however,  
“ was half a league off, and required a quar-  
“ ter of an hour to arrive on the field of ac-  
“ tion; and *I have observed that it is always*  
“ *those quarters of an hour that decide the fate of*  
“ *a battle.* The troops of Kellerman threw the  
“ Hungarian grenadiers upon our infantry, and  
“ they were immediately taken prisoners. The  
“ Austrian cavalry now arrived; but our infantry  
“ was in a line with its artillery in front, and a  
“ dreadful discharge and a barrier of bayonets  
“ obliged this body of cavalry to fall back, and  
“ it retired rather in disorder. I then followed  
“ with three regiments that had just joined me—  
“ it deployed; I drove it before me, and a great  
“ part of it was drowned in attempting to pass  
“ the bridge of the Bormida, which is very nar-  
“ row; what remained was pursued till dark.

“ I learnt after the battle, from some general  
“ officers, that the Austrians, even in the midst  
“ of their first successes, were not without feel-  
“ ing a degree of uneasiness ; they had a secret  
“ foreboding of their defeat. During the action  
“ they questioned our prisoners, and asked  
“ them, ‘ Where is General Bonaparte ?’—‘ In  
“ the rear-guard.’—And those who had already  
“ fought against me in Italy, and who knew my  
“ custom of *reserving myself for the end*, ex-  
“ claimed, ‘ *Our task is not yet over !*’ They  
“ also confessed, that on seeing me in the first  
“ line they had been completely deceived by  
“ the stratagem, and had believed that my re-  
“ serve was engaged.

“ In all battles a moment occurs when  
“ the bravest troops, after having made the  
“ greatest efforts, feel disposed to fly. That  
“ terror proceeds from a want of confidence in  
“ their own courage ; and it only requires a  
“ slight opportunity, a pretence, to restore con-  
“ fidence to them : the great art is to give rise  
“ to the opportunity, and to invent the pre-  
“ tence.

“ At Arcole I won the battle with twenty-  
“ five horsemen ; I seized that moment of lassi-

“ tude in the two armies ; I perceived that the  
“ Austrians, although old soldiers, would not  
“ have been sorry to be in their camp ; and that  
“ our Frenchmen, however brave, wished them-  
“ selves under their tents.—The whole of my  
“ forces had been engaged. I had been obliged  
“ to re-form them in order of battle several  
“ times, and had only twenty-five guides left.  
“ These I sent on the flank of the enemy, with  
“ three trumpets sounding the charge. A general  
“ cry was heard throughout the Austrian ranks  
“ of ‘ *Here is the French cavalry!* ’ and they  
“ fled. It is true that the proper moment  
“ must be seized ; one minute sooner or later  
“ that attempt would have proved useless, even  
“ though I had sent two thousand horse ; for the  
“ infantry would have made a conversion cover-  
“ ed by its artillery, and opened its fire, and  
“ the cavalry would not even have attacked.

“ You thus see that two armies are two  
“ bodies which meet and endeavour to frighten  
“ each other ; a moment of panic occurs, and  
“ that moment must be turned to advantage.  
“ All that is merely the effect of a mechanical  
“ and moral principle ; it only requires habit ;  
“ and when a man has been present in many



“ actions he distinguishes that moment without  
“ difficulty ; it is as easy as the casting up of  
“ an addition.

“ The first time I entered Italy, I found there  
“ a government rather despotic, it is true, but  
“ whose administration was mild. But now  
“ every thing was altered ; the country was agi-  
“ tated by a most furious re-action, and every  
“ individual who had had any thing to do with  
“ us, had been thrown into prison and fined. I  
“ had appointed men of the Austrian party to  
“ various situations in the Cisalpine Republic,  
“ because my system is to neutralize the sen-  
“ timents of the great mass of the people, in  
“ order that the country where I make war  
“ may not become a closed arena ; well, all  
“ these persons so placed by me had been  
“ looked upon with an evil eye on account of  
“ the hatred borne to revolutionists. Add to  
“ this, that the English, the Russians, and the  
“ Turks, by despising the religion of the coun-  
“ try in proportion to the scrupulousness with  
“ which they observe their own, had quite in-  
“ disposed the Italians, who pay much more at-  
“ tention to the outward forms of religion than  
“ we do in France. The German paper-money  
“ also was at a discount of sixty per cent., and yet

“ the inhabitants were obliged to receive it as  
“ coin. This circumstance completed the entire  
“ estrangement of the affection of the Italians  
“ from Austria; and when the former saw that  
“ we paid for every thing in cash, they were de-  
“ lighted, and exclaimed—‘ Here are the French  
“ Louis’ come back again!’ (*Ecco i Luigi di*  
“ *Francia tornati!*’)

“ The church of Our Lady of Loretto was  
“ used as barracks for a Turkish corps. I had  
“ not much difficulty in ranging the Italians on  
“ my side: I said to them, ‘ The Austrians call  
“ themselves the defenders of your religion, and  
“ they bring you a regiment of Englishmen—of  
“ people who burn the Pope regularly once a  
“ year; legions of Russians, who have been  
“ heretics and schismatics ever since the 15th  
“ century; and, to crown the whole, Turks,  
“ Mahometans, a race of unbelievers! whilst I  
“ am Catholic, have fought against the Turks,  
“ and am almost a crusader.’

“ I gave several situations in the Government  
“ of the Cisalpine Republic to priests. The  
“ Italian priests are remarkable for tolerance,  
“ and do not form a separate and powerful  
“ corps, as formerly the clergy of France did.  
“ Accustomed, besides, to see their country in-

“ vaded twice every century, they lift up their  
“ hands as often as you please, and take any oath  
“ required of them. In short, I found them just  
“ what I wanted. In Italy I made use of some  
“ priests, in Egypt I filled the administration  
“ with them. We could not speak the lan-  
“ guage of the country, and wanted some in-  
“ termediate agent between us and the people;  
“ and the character of these priests, and their  
“ riches, gave them a certain influence. Besides,  
“ they are cowards, who do not understand  
“ the use of arms, nor know how to ride on  
“ horseback.”

24th. — Fever and slight head-ach; the Emperor cannot sleep. Continuation of the same symptoms. I ordered foot baths and simple enemas.

25th.—The Emperor had passed a more favourable night; the fever had yielded to abundant perspiration, and he was altogether better.

He was upon his usual text, and spoke of Corsica; of its mountains, and of the happy moments he had passed there. He afterwards mentioned Paoli: “ He was a very great man,” said Napoleon; “ I loved him, and he was very  
“ much attached to me and to all my family.

“ We were at Corte when he adopted the fatal  
“ resolution of bringing the island of Corsica  
“ under the dominion of England. At first he  
“ concealed his intention from me, and Gentili  
“ was equally silent on the subject; but some  
“ words, that escaped inadvertently, awakened  
“ a suspicion in my mind; I recapitulated all  
“ I had seen and heard, and no longer enter-  
“ tained any doubts as to their intention. Our  
“ ideas and sentiments were widely different on  
“ this occasion, and I several times indirectly  
“ gave them to understand that such was the  
“ case. However, as I commanded a corps of  
“ national guards, it became necessary to put  
“ me into the secret; they did not despair of  
“ changing my ideas, and overcoming my an-  
“ tipathy, and proposed to me to act in concert  
“ with them. But this was far from being my  
“ intention: I was ardently devoted to France,  
“ and would not begin by betraying her; still,  
“ in order to escape, it was necessary to gain  
“ time, and I therefore asked to reflect a little  
“ before I decided. Paoli’s friendship was dear  
“ to me, and I was grieved at the idea of a rup-  
“ ture with him; but my country was my polar  
“ star! I retired, and proceeded to Bocognano.  
“ On arriving there I was seized by the moun-

“taineers who had pursued me, put into confine-  
“ment, and guarded by forty men. The situa-  
“tion was a critical one; nevertheless I found  
“means to extricate myself from it. The Captain  
“who guarded me was a good-natured man, all  
“attention to me, and who endeavoured to ex-  
“cuse himself for being under the necessity of  
“obeying the orders he had received; the execu-  
“tion of which, he said, was peculiarly painful to  
“him on this occasion. I entered into conver-  
“sation with him, and he proposed to me to go  
“out with him and breathe the fresh air. I  
“accepted, and directed my servant to station  
“himself on the road at a distance of about five  
“or six hundred paces. Suddenly I feigned a  
“most imperious necessity to satisfy the wants of  
“nature—my gaoler believed me, and stepped  
“aside, and I was on my horse before he had  
“turned his head. He cried out, halloed,  
“called to arms, but swift as the wind I was  
“out of reach before he could fire, and arrived  
“at Ajaccio. The mountaineers were, however,  
“at my heels, and I found myself obliged to  
“ask an asylum of a friend. Barberi received  
“me, and conducted me to the coast, from  
“whence I went to Calvi to join Lacombe St.  
“Michel. I had escaped from partisans, posts,

“ and police ; all had been unavailing : Paoli  
“ was grieved and vexed beyond measure. He  
“ wrote, complained, threatened ; my brothers  
“ and myself had betrayed, he said, his in-  
“ terests and those of our country, and did not  
“ deserve the sentiments he entertained for us ;  
“ nevertheless we might return—his arms were  
“ open to receive us ; but if, for the last time, we  
“ were deaf to his advice, and insensible to his  
“ offers, he should no longer have any mercy.  
“ The execution of this threat was as prompt  
“ as the answer to it had been scornful ; he  
“ seized our flocks, burnt, pillaged, and de-  
“ stroyed all our property. We did not inter-  
“ fere to save it, but having excited the patriots,  
“ we ran to their assistance. The citadel was  
“ occupied, and kept up an incessant fire ; so  
“ that, finding it impossible to land, we went  
“ and anchored opposite to the north of the gulf.  
“ The insurgents followed us : I had had time  
“ to land a few guns, and I covered them with  
“ grape-shot. They, however, returned, loaded  
“ me with reproaches, expressing their indigna-  
“ tion that one of theirs should fight for France.  
“ They had climbed upon trees, and heights,  
“ and wherever they hoped to be better heard  
“ from : I loaded with a cannon-ball, aimed,

“ fired, and cut down a branch upon which one  
“ of these orators was perched. He fell—his  
“ fall amused the mob; it dispersed, and was  
“ seen no more. We returned to Calvi, and  
“ tried again a few *coups-de-main*, which were  
“ not all to our disadvantage; but the English  
“ had landed, the mountaineers inundated the  
“ plain—we could not oppose the storm.

“ My mother went to Marseilles; she ex-  
“ pected to find there a spirit of patriotism,  
“ and to meet with a reception proportioned to  
“ the sacrifices she had made; but she scarcely  
“ could obtain a safe asylum. All had given  
“ way; my presence was no longer of any use  
“ in Corsica,—I left it and went to Paris. The  
“ *fédérés* had just delivered up Toulon, the  
“ future was big with events, and I did not  
“ despair that amongst the number one might  
“ arise which would re-establish our affairs.  
“ They were much in want of such an event,  
“ for the mountaineers had completely ruined  
“ them, and but for the revolution they were  
“ irretrievably lost. The harm done to us by  
“ Paoli had not sufficed to estrange me from  
“ him; I loved him, and never ceased to regret  
“ him. He was tall, his attitude was noble,  
“ he spoke well, knew the Corsicans and

“ exercised unlimited influence over them.  
“ Equally skilful in discovering the importance  
“ of a military position or of a measure of ad-  
“ ministration, he fought and governed with  
“ a degree of tact and sagacity which I have  
“ never seen but in him. During the war for  
“ liberty I accompanied him in his excursions,  
“ and he explained to me, as we proceeded, the  
“ advantages of the ground we passed over, the  
“ best way to render it available and to remedy  
“ its defects. I recollect that one day as we  
“ were going to Port-Neuf, at the head of a large  
“ detachment, I submitted to him some obser-  
“ vations upon the ideas he had expressed. He  
“ listened to me very attentively, and looking  
“ steadfastly at me when I had done :—‘ Ah !  
“ Napoleon,’ said he, ‘ you are not of this age—  
“ your sentiments are those of the men de-  
“ scribed by Plutarch. Courage ! you will rise in  
“ the world.’—And so I did ; but he was obliged  
“ to yield to fate, and took refuge in England,  
“ where he resided at the period of the ex-  
“ peditions of Italy and Egypt. Every one of  
“ my victories transported him with joy ; to  
“ hear him celebrate and exalt my success, it  
“ might have been supposed that we were on  
“ the same footing of intimacy as we had been.



“ When I was raised to the Consulate, and afterwards to the Empire, it was worse still ; party followed party, and dinner succeeded dinner, and nothing was heard but shouts of joy and satisfaction. The head of the state was displeased at these manifestations of enthusiasm, and Paoli was sent for.—‘ Your reproaches are just,’ said the latter, ‘ but Napoleon is one of mine: I have seen him grow up—I foretold his fortune. Can you expect me to detest his glory, to disinherit my country of the honour he does her?’—I felt for that great man all the sentiments he had for me: I wished to recall him and give him a share of power, but I was overwhelmed with the multiplicity of affairs ; time passed,—he died, and I had not the satisfaction of making him a witness of the splendour that surrounded me.”

26th.—The Emperor continues better.

Some ships had anchored off the island, and several passengers had landed in the hope of seeing Napoleon. I saw them coming with Lowe. “ They come from India,” said the Emperor to me, “ and I should like to ask them some questions ; but this Calabrian inspires me with too much disgust. I shall not receive them. Hudson is the *Paria* of St. Helena—he

“corrupts every thing he sees or touches; he  
“forms a mixture of stupidity and low cunning,  
“against which I know not what kind of in-  
“stinct forewarns me—I will not see them.”  
And he began to discourse about India. He had  
not, he said, properly attacked that country;  
he had gone to work by way of Persia, and it  
was not through that quarter that the attempt  
ought to have been made; but the adventurers  
he had sent into those regions had leagued with  
the Presidencies and betrayed the Nabobs: he  
would have nothing more to do with them.  
“I had for some time,” continued he, “intended  
“to send two or three thousand *Chouans*\* on  
“the Jumna:† they asked to go and to have  
“Bourmont for their chief, and I should have  
“acted wisely in allowing them. French blood  
“is always good opposed to a foreign foe; I  
“should have been rid of those old *habitués* of  
“discord; I should not have foolishly dragged  
“some of them to Waterloo, and a great disaster  
“would not have taken place. But every one  
“must fulfil his destiny—nobody can command  
“it. I have shown to France what she can  
“do—let her execute it.

\* Insurgent Royalists in the West of France.

† A river in India.

27th.—The Emperor had passed a bad night, but the general state of his health had not suffered from it.

“ Well, Doctor, how do you find me ? am I  
“ better ?” said he, extending his arm towards  
me, whilst he was reading at the same time.—  
“ Your Majesty is at least not worse. It is  
those pills—(the box was open, and he had not  
taken any :) they possess some efficacy.” —  
“ No doubt.” —“ They disengage the humours.”  
—“ Ah !” —“ They keep the bowels open.” —  
“ Assuredly, they possess every virtue in the  
“ world,” said Napoleon, throwing down his  
book. “ Why, zounds ! Doctor, you preach for  
“ your pills with more fervour than is used in  
“ favour of legitimacy now-a-days. Do you  
“ take any yourself ?” —I laughed.—“ Very  
“ well ; I understand you,—the sermon for your-  
“ self, and the physic for the patient ; is it not  
“ so ? Believe me, we had better leave off all  
“ these remedies ; life is a fortress which nei-  
“ ther you nor I know any thing about ; why  
“ throw obstacles in the way of its defence ?  
“ its own means are superior to all the appa-  
“ ratus of your laboratories. Corvisart candidly  
“ agreed, that all your filthy preparations and  
“ mixtures are good for nothing. Medicine

“ is a collection of uncertain prescriptions which  
“ kill the poor, and succeed sometimes with the  
“ rich ; and the results of which, collectively  
“ taken, are more fatal than useful to mankind.  
“ Speak to me no more about these fine things ;  
“ I am not a man for drugs.”

I endeavoured to combat the theories he had formed ; I was serious, and felt grieved on considering all the consequences they might produce. “ You appear thoughtful and downcast,  
“ Doctor ; what is the matter with you ? Have  
“ I found out the weak part of the armour ? ” —  
“ Sire, there are medicines the efficacy of which  
has been tried and proved.” — “ Like those  
“ that Corvisart used to give to the Empress ;  
“ pills composed of crumbs of bread, but which  
“ operated with excellent effect. Maria Louisa  
“ one day extolled their virtues : — they are all  
“ alike.” — “ No, Sire.” — “ What an obstinate  
“ man ; just what I expected.” — “ Facts . . . ” —  
“ Are visible, and causes are occult, but I am one  
“ of yours — I have practised.” — “ You, Sire ? ” —  
“ Myself.” — “ But your Majesty did not pre-  
scribe ? ” — “ Can you ask me such a question ?  
“ What would have become of my dignity ? I  
“ should have been looked upon as an intruder.”  
— “ You chose your remedies, and they were not

unpleasant to take.”——“Sometimes, but generally  
“ speaking I did not draw them from the apo-  
“ thecary’s shop ; water, air, and cleanliness,  
“ were the chief articles of my pharmacopœia,  
“ and I seldom had recourse to any other means.  
“ You laugh at my method ; do so : your col-  
“ leagues in Egypt laughed at it also ; but ex-  
“ perience demonstrated that my flannel and  
“ brush were preferable to their pills. I under-  
“ stand you, sir ; I see that, like a worthy Chris-  
“ tian, you are surprised at my ablutions ; but  
“ we were destroyed by the plague and by  
“ assassination. The Arabs murdered my sol-  
“ diers, and the doctors refused to attend them.  
“ I could not forsake them in their miserable  
“ condition ; I vainly endeavoured to animate  
“ the courage of the professional men whose  
“ devotion is generally so conspicuous, and pu-  
“ nished one of them who had shewn himself  
“ more pusillanimous than the others, by de-  
“ grading him, and causing him to be walked  
“ through the streets of Alexandria with a  
“ board, upon which was written, ‘ *He is not a*  
“ *Frenchman—he fears death.*’ Still the igno-  
“ miny of one did not restore energy to the  
“ others ; the service was carried on tamely,  
“ and the ravages of the disorder remained

“ unabated. I made some advances to the  
“ Cheiks, and ordered the troops to encamp;  
“ tranquillity was restored, the malady ceased,  
“ and I derived great advantage from the step  
“ I had taken. However, approve or blame  
“ as you think proper, here is the ordinance :—

“ Cairo, 9th Pluviose, VIIth Year  
of the Republic.

“ TO GENERAL MARMONT.

“ I suppose, Citizen-General, that you have changed the system of service of Alexandria, and that you have placed small and permanent posts in the various batteries. On the height of the observatory, and at the battery *des Bains*, for instance, you will have placed twelve or fifteen men, who are not to go out of it, and whom you will keep there cut off from all communication. The sentry required to guard the post will be taken from those twelve or fifteen men. Your position with respect to the sea relieves you from the necessity of exercising any considerable degree of *surveillance* at this moment, and you therefore want but few troops. Why do you employ grenadiers for the service of the town? I cannot comprehend the obstinacy of Commissary Michaux in remaining in his house, since it is infected by the plague.

Why does he not go and place himself on a hill near the column of Pompey ?

“ All your battalions are at least half a league distant from each other ; keep but a small number in town ; and it being the most dangerous post, do not keep any chosen troops there . . . . Place the battalion of the 75th under those trees where you have long been stationed with the 4th regiment of light infantry. Let it bivouac there, and let all communication between that battalion and the town and Egypt be strictly forbidden. Send the battalion of the 85th towards Marabon, where it can easily be furnished with supplies by sea. With respect to the unfortunate demi-brigade of light infantry, order the men to be stripped stark naked, and bathed in the sea : let every man scrub himself well from head to foot, and thoroughly wash his clothes ; and see that they keep themselves clean in future. No more parades, no more guards : let every one remain in the camp. Order a large pit to be dug filled with quick lime, to throw the dead in.

“ From the moment a French house is infected with the plague, let the individuals belonging to it be either in camp or barracks ; but let them carefully avoid the house, and let them be placed in reserve in the open air.

Lastly, order every one to wash his hands and face every day, and to keep himself clean.

“ If you cannot preserve the whole of the corps where the disorder has appeared, from the contagion ; preserve, at least, the majority of your garrison. It appears to me, that you have not yet taken any measures commensurate with the circumstances in which you are placed.”

“ He was amusing himself with corresponding with Menou ; he was writing, joking, losing time, and only busying himself about the turban and the wife of that old fool.— ‘ Those blindfold marriages are very dangerous,’ said the one.— ‘ They have succeeded in my case,’ rejoined the other.— ‘ Is Madame handsome ?’— ‘ She is very desirable.’— ‘ Shall you use the privilege ?’ — ‘ No ; \* \* \* \* \*’ and a hundred fooleries of the same kind ; but read on.”

“ If I had not at Alexandria some depôts which I cannot do without, I should have already told you to go with your garrison and encamp three leagues off, in the desert. I know that you cannot now do this, but approach as near to it as you can. Endeavour to impress on your



mind the spirit of the instructions contained in this letter; execute them in as far as they are practicable, and I hope you will derive some benefit from them.

“BONAPARTE.”

28th.—The Emperor had suffered in the night with acute pains in the liver. He was better this morning.

I was relating to the Emperor the discussions I had heard at Florence respecting the nobility of his family, and the causes of its emigration. “Those causes are very simple,” said he. “The  
“last of my ancestors who inhabited Tuscany,  
“professed the same principles as I do: he de-  
“fended them as I defended mine; and, like  
“me, he fell a victim to them. The foreign  
“faction prevailed, the national party was de-  
“feated and outlawed, and Bonaparte sought  
“an asylum, first at Sarzana, and afterwards in  
“Corsica. But the family intercourse did not  
“cease; his descendants continued to corre-  
“spond with the members of the branch that  
“was settled at San Miniato, and addressed to  
“them those of their children whom they wish-  
“ed to send to study at Pisa. That branch is  
“now extinct; the good Canon, of whom I  
“spoke to you, was the last shoot of it. He

“ died,—I forget now in what year,—and left  
“ me his fortune, which I devoted to the assist-  
“ ance of the suffering classes in Tuscany. My  
“ own nobility dates from Millesimo, Rivoli,  
“ and from the 18th Brumaire, when I defeat-  
“ ed the plots laid against the nation. The  
“ nobility of my family is more ancient, its  
“ origin is lost in the obscurity of the middle  
“ age: the genealogist Joseph alone could trace  
“ it to its source; he pretends to be descended  
“ from I know not how many obscure tyrants.

“ Attempts were frequently made to bring  
“ my vanity into play on that subject, but  
“ the bait would not take: I never would  
“ listen to any of these suggestions. After the  
“ battle of Arcole, when I was general-in-chief  
“ of the army of Italy, the whole population of  
“ Treviso came out to meet me. My ancestors  
“ had held the first rank in that city; they pre-  
“ sented me the acts and parchments that proved  
“ it, and offered me the sovereignty which my  
“ family had lost. At Bologna, Marescalchi,  
“ Caprara, and Aldini came by order of the  
“ Senate to lay before me the golden book,  
“ in which the name and the arms of my  
“ family were inscribed. At a later period I  
“ was obliged to advance as far as Tolentino.

“ I was unwilling to display bayonets before  
“ priests, or to wage war with a saint; but  
“ seventy-five thousand Frenchmen had already  
“ been murdered under his reign: it was too  
“ much—I resolved to put an end to it. All  
“ those who surrounded me insisted upon over-  
“ throwing the *idol*; but France had become  
“ Catholic again: it was necessary to render the  
“ revolution popular, to use the influence of the  
“ priesthood, and I therefore had recourse to  
“ negotiations. Besides, we obtained rich pro-  
“ vinces, and the port of Ancona, whence one  
“ might in twenty-four hours pass into Mace-  
“ donia—that was a fine result. The Pope’s  
“ envoys exclaimed against my victories, and  
“ the rapidity with which Italy had been con-  
“ quered and the Austrians defeated. ‘ I was,’  
“ said one of them to me, ‘ the first French-  
“ man that had marched against Rome since  
“ the Connétable de Bourbon; and what was  
“ rather singular, the history of the first ex-  
“ pedition had been written by one of the an-  
“ cestors of the man who commanded the second.’  
“ The expedition of Egypt and the Consulate  
“ put all the genealogists in motion; every  
“ parchment was turned over, and consulted.  
“ I was allied to the ancient house of Este, to

“ that of England ; in short, it is impossible  
“ to say to whom I did not belong. The Duke  
“ of Feltre was particularly anxious about these  
“ researches. A female of the Bonaparte family  
“ had married a Medici, another had given  
“ birth to Paul V., a third to I know not what  
“ other personage. I was allied to sceptres and  
“ tiaras by the women, and to literary fame by  
“ the men. The latter had distinguished them-  
“ selves as historians and dramatists, in juris-  
“ prudence and in diplomacy. Have you read  
“ ‘ *The Widow?* ’ or, at least, have you heard of  
“ it whilst you were at Florence ? ” I replied  
in the negative. “ It is an old play,” continued  
the Emperor, “ but not devoid of interest ; the  
“ manuscript of it is at Paris, in the national  
“ library. The author was a distinguished  
“ writer, who is much spoken of in Mazzu-  
“ chelli’s Biography of the writers of Italy. It  
“ was he who instituted, at the university of  
“ Pisa, the class of jurisprudence, which after-  
“ wards became so celebrated.

“ But to return to the attempts that were  
“ made to prove that I am nobly descended.  
“ We were in the year 1810 ; and yielding to  
“ the proposals I had refused in 1805, I had  
“ allied myself to Austria. The Emperor

“ Francis, who thought much more of the lus-  
“ tre derived from parchments, than of that ac-  
“ quired by victory, ordered all the archives of  
“ Italy and Germany to be searched, and at  
“ last succeeded in finding the documents he  
“ wanted. He informed me of the circumstance,  
“ and begged me to allow him to publish them ;  
“ but I excused myself in the best way I  
“ could, and refused. He insisted, wrote to me,  
“ spoke to me about it again when we were  
“ at Dresden, and could not at all understand  
“ whence proceeded my repugnance to consent  
“ to his wishes ; for, after all, it was an honour to  
“ be descended from a family of sovereigns, as  
“ he could prove that mine was, by producing  
“ the title-deeds and documents he had obtain-  
“ ed. ‘ Those titles,’ said I, ‘ are too ancient for  
“ me ; mine date only from Millesimo.’—‘ You  
“ date from a much earlier period.’—‘ No, I go no  
“ higher.’—‘ But . . . ’ He understood at last that  
“ I prided myself more upon being the Rodolph  
“ of my own family, than the descendant of some  
“ odious legitimate.—‘ A Sovereign family !—  
“ Maria Louisa must be informed of this dis-  
“ covery ; she will appreciate the value of it—it  
“ will please her ; do tell Maria Louisa of it.’  
“ I requested him to make the communication

“ himself, and did not conceal from him the  
“ little importance I attached to affairs of that  
“ nature. He felt hurt at the manner in which  
“ I received what he thought would have been  
“ a most agreeable surprise prepared for me.  
“ His care and trouble had been thrown away;  
“ I despised titles, and was, after my disasters,  
“ a mere jacobin. Had I consented to this  
“ foolery, who knows but that there might have  
“ been one hundred thousand men less on the  
“ plains of Leipsic ?”

29th.—The Emperor’s health in the same state. He was arranging his nails, and brush and scissars succeeded each other rapidly. He examined his hand for some time without saying a word, and suddenly asked me several questions. “ What are the nails? What  
“ is the beard, the epidermis? \* How are  
“ they formed? What are their functions,  
“ their structure? You have not explained  
“ that to me very clearly; begin again.”—“ Sire, as I told your Majesty, the epidermis is divided into two layers, one exterior and the other interior. One is thin, transparent, unalterable by the air; the other is opaque. The first, of a close and firm texture, is composed of small and

\* Scarfskin.

delicate absorbent vessels, proceeding from the inhalent orifices which cover the surface of that membrane. The second, which is placed underneath, reposes upon the *papillæ*, and extends over the intervals which separate them. It is composed of the same vessels, but they are considerably larger, and contain numerous orifices which line the internal surface. These two layers are united by a multitude of small trunks and lymphatic vessels passing from one to the other, and serving to bind them together. The absorbents, which form the internal layer of the epidermis, are filled with a kind of matter, which is black in some individuals and opaque in others; and produces the difference between the negro and the white man:—such is the epidermis. Its use is as follows: the numerous inhalent orifices of the absorbent vessels, which are heaped together and occupy the whole of the external surface of that membrane, are thin, slender, capillary, and only admit substances in the state of gas; the inhalent orifices of the second layer, which are, as we have already said, stronger and larger, are capable of receiving liquids: and thus the use of the epidermis is to absorb foreign substances, and repair the losses of the human frame. -

“ Hair, feathers, bristles, and consequently the beard, perform the same functions. Implanted in the fat cellular membrane, they are surrounded by two tubes, the second of which contains small glands filled with a tallowy substance, whence oozes an unctuous liquid, which lubricates them, and tends to preserve them. Their texture is thicker, and composed of capillary vessels which absorb the particles floating in the air, and pour them into the circulation. The scales of fishes and the feathers of birds differ in that respect, inasmuch only as the first absorb liquids and the others only admit aëriform fluids. Women have more hair on the head, and we have more on the body : but the object of both is merely to pour out and to draw from the air ; consequently the hair is more abundant and stronger, in proportion as the part where it grows is more subject to perspiration. See how admirably it is adapted to the use for which nature has intended it. Of the two sets of vessels which compose it, some run from the extremity of the hair towards the root, and their office is to draw in the aëriform fluids ; the others go from the root to the extremity, and convey the oily substances contained in the skin. They restore the equilibrium, which



many causes tend to disturb ; they collect what is wasted by perspiration, compensate for losses, and repair disorders.”—“ So then, Doctor, hairs “ are leaves? ”—“ Yes, Sire, the comparison is exact ; it is the same principle of action.”—“ To “ absorb, throw out, form new combinations, con- “ stitute life? ”—“ Yes, Sire, the epidermis and the hair have no other use.”—“ And we cut “ it ! ”—“ It is an abuse.”—“ We shave ! ”—“ It is contrary to nature.”—“ What, then, would you “ have us look like *Capucins*? \* Why, Doctor, “ you have now explained to me the reason for “ using hair in the construction of hygrometers.” —“ Yes, Sire ; the property which suits them for that purpose is a consequence of their structure.” —“ And the nails? ”—“ Are composed of the same vessels as the epidermis ; but their texture is thicker and more compact than the epidermis, of which they form the prolongation.”

30th.—I knew that the Emperor was better ; and being tormented by the gnats, I went to take a ride on horseback. “ What ! you have already “ been out ? ” said Napoleon to me on my return. “ Yes, Sire, I have been endeavouring to escape from being stung.”—“ And I from devastations. “ Here, see how the rats run about my room !

\* Friars who suffer their beards to grow.

“ They have almost destroyed the partition wall :  
“ every thing is eaten through in these mise-  
“ rable cabins. But you have not told me  
“ what has struck you most in your excursions :  
“ what have you observed ? ” — “ A few plants and  
shrubs. ” — “ Steeps and ravines ! Nature in con-  
“ vulsion. ” — “ But, Sire, after having doubled the  
Munder . . . . ” — “ Well ? ” — “ The prospect ex-  
pands, and you perceive James-Town. ” — “ And  
“ a fine prospect it is ! a few wretched hovels over-  
“ hung by rocks, squeezed up between mountains  
“ as if they were to be smashed by them. ” —  
“ That renders the point of view more pictu-  
resque. ” — “ Picturesque indeed ! About a  
“ hundred cabins built of mud and stone, scat-  
“ tered about in the bottom of a ravine ; military  
“ posts, an hospital, and a church, in keeping  
“ with the rest—such is the romantic picture ! ”  
— “ But Plantation-House ? ” — “ It is the Oasis  
“ of the desert. Built close against a chain of  
“ mountains, it is sheltered from being dried up  
“ by the south-east winds : plants, shrubs, of the  
“ most opposite natures, grow and thrive there,  
“ and present to the eye an aspect of vegeta-  
“ tion which is seen on no other part of the  
“ island. The spot is *unique* of its kind, like  
“ the *Calabrian* who inhabits it : but one is

nected with it, and ascertained that it was of regular occurrence, and dated from the siege of Toulon. The Emperor, who was then only a colonel, commanded the fire of a battery, when a gunner fell dead by his side : he took up the rammer, loaded and fired the cannon, and being in a state of perspiration, imbibed the infection of the itch, with which the soldier was covered. He commenced a treatment, but the impatience of youth, the activity of the service, and a wound received from a bayonet above the knee, soon obliged him to discontinue it. The eruption disappeared, and the humour was absorbed through the wound into the system. This neglect was nearly attended with fatal consequences ; the virus developed itself during the campaigns of Egypt and Italy, and produced pains in the chest, incessant coughing, and difficulty of breathing.

The first Consul was thin, pale, and wan, and seemed to be near the term of his existence. “ All around me,” said Napoleon, “ beset me then with representations upon my indifference : but as it did not impede the march of affairs, I took no notice of what they said. At last, however, their solicitations became so pressing, that I consented to take the ad-

“ vice of a physician. Desgenettes was pro-  
“ posed to me ; and being indifferent as to the  
“ choice of one, I accepted him : but he en-  
“ tered into so long a dissertation, and pre-  
“ scribed so many medicines, that I remained  
“ convinced he was a mere talker, and the pro-  
“ fession an imposture ; and I did nothing. The  
“ importunities commenced again : I yielded  
“ once more, and Corvisart was brought to  
“ me. He was blunt, rough, and impatient ;  
“ and scarcely leaving me time to give him an  
“ account of my state of health, he said, ‘ Your  
“ complaint is nothing ; it is an eruption which  
“ has passed into the system, and which we  
“ must bring back to the skin ; a few days’ blis-  
“ tering will do it.’ He accordingly applied two  
“ blisters on the chest, and the cough disap-  
“ peared : I became stout, my energy returned,  
“ and I was able to bear the greatest fatigue.  
“ The sagacity of Corvisart delighted me. I  
“ saw that he had found out my constitution,  
“ that he was the proper physician for me ; and  
“ I therefore attached him to my person, and  
“ loaded him with marks of my favour. At a  
“ later period he opened an issue in my left  
“ arm ; but the war of Spain having broken out,  
“ I suffered it to close, and did not find my-

“ self the worse for it. The irritation and  
“ itching continued as usual ; I opened new  
“ wounds, and new scars were formed ; the  
“ humour found a vent, and I enjoyed perfect  
“ health.”

The Emperor's health was now re-establish-  
ed : he slept, bathed, walked, and led his  
usual life. I often accompanied him into the  
garden. He spoke of his campaigns, and I spoke  
to him of Corsica, and endeavoured to suggest  
topics of conversation that were pleasing to his  
mind. One day, after having spoken at consi-  
derable length about the troubles of that unfor-  
tunate country, he gave me an account of the  
services rendered by Cervoni, the supplies fur-  
nished by Arena, and the extortions the latter  
had been guilty of, and of the intrigues in which  
Moltedo had shared. “ My unexpected return  
“ from Egypt had disconcerted him ; the prisons  
“ were full ; the parties in presence of each  
“ other ; the patience of the public exhausted :  
“ the municipal authorities accused the depar-  
“ tmental, who, in their turn, accused the ma-  
“ gistrates : exasperation and discord were the  
“ order of the day.

“ Contrary winds drove us from the coasts  
“ of France : we sought refuge near those of

“ Corsica, reached Ajaccio, and anchored in  
“ the bay. The public bodies and the whole  
“ population immediately ran to the sea-side :  
“ every one was anxious to see me, and called  
“ upon me to land ; the acclamations increased  
“ every moment. The leaders were upon  
“ thorns ; they, however, summoned up courage :  
“ the Board of Health assembled, and decided,  
“ after a long discussion, that I could not land.  
“ ‘ Express to him, at least,’ said Barberi, who  
“ presided at the Board, ‘ how very painful  
“ this decision is to your feelings ! and let us go  
“ and congratulate the General upon his vic-  
“ tories ; he has well deserved that mark of  
“ respect.’ This proposal was agreed to ; a  
“ boat was taken, and they directed their course  
“ towards the frigate *La Muiron*. The sailors  
“ threw out ropes ; Barberi got on board the  
“ first, and the others followed him ; I was then  
“ invited to land. I had no suspicion that the  
“ President took advantage of the circumstance,  
“ and exceeded his powers ; I thought the in-  
“ vitation unanimous, accepted, and landed  
“ with all my suite. I was received as a man  
“ is sometimes received by his countrymen ;  
“ acclamations resounded in all directions.

“ The troops were under arms : poor, misera-

“ ble objects ! they had neither shoes nor cloth-  
“ ing. I asked where the chest was ; but no  
“ money had been paid into it for seven months.  
“ And the paymaster had made advances, and  
“ raised upon his own bond 40,000 francs,  
“ which he had distributed amongst the diffe-  
“ rent corps, in order to ensure the subsistence  
“ of the soldiers, and to satisfy the innkeepers  
“ who refused to supply the officers. I felt in-  
“ dignant at this disordered state of affairs ;  
“ and having collected all the money I could  
“ dispose of, I ordered the arrears of pay to be  
“ paid up, and that the appearance of the  
“ troops should no longer excite compassion.  
“ In the evening there was a ball and illumina-  
“ tions ; the poor vied with the rich in demon-  
“ strations of joy. Kind-hearted inhabitants  
“ of Ajaccio ! I never shall forget your re-  
“ ception.

“ The excellent Barberi had sent me notes  
“ and newspapers : I knew how Corsica and  
“ France were situated, and had an idea of the  
“ state of parties. A gondola manned by four-  
“ teen chosen sailors was to follow my frigate,  
“ so that I could overtake the swift-sailing  
“ vessels sent to Toulon, and escape from the  
“ English cruisers who were on the look-out.

“ The next morning I received the congratula-  
“ tions of the civil and military authorities : I  
“ praised some, treated others with severity,  
“ and intimidated the department. The pri-  
“ sons were thrown open, some vacant situa-  
“ tions filled ; doubt and mistrust vanished,  
“ courage returned, and in four days order,  
“ peace, and confidence were completely re-  
“ stored.

“ The accomplices of Cittadella had sent  
“ him a messenger to inform him of my return,  
“ but he was detained by contrary winds. In  
“ the mean time I set off, arrived at Frejus,  
“ Grenoble, Auxerre, and did not stop until I  
“ reached Paris. I upset the Directory ; the  
“ 18th Brumaire occurred ; the enemies of  
“ France were confounded : I restored order,  
“ recalled victory, and established the Consulate  
“ government. But if winds had been favour-  
“ able, if the dispatches to Cittadella had ar-  
“ rived before me, all my plans might have  
“ been defeated, and France from that moment  
“ would have become a prey to the emigrants.”

Napoleon had often spoken to me of the in-  
trigues which had agitated his reign, and ac-  
complished, at last, his downfall. He was ac-  
quainted with them all ; knew the leaders,



their accomplices, and the places where they met. “ During the hundred days I followed “ their movements,” said he ; “ I saw them run “ from my presence to their assemblies ; and I “ might have punished, for I held the docu- “ ments which convicted them. These docu- “ ments had reached me in a singular manner. “ A foreign officer of rank, whose situation “ obliged him to listen to these plots, was in- “ dignant on seeing men whom I had created “ conspire to effect my ruin. He demanded “ an audience, delivered up all the plans to me, “ and protested that if ever his troops should be “ in the line of battle I might reckon upon him. “ I was deeply affected, and was on the point “ of casting these wretches back into the mire “ from which I had raised them ; but the crisis “ approached, it was necessary to conquer, and “ I postponed this signal act of national justice “ until after the enemy should be defeated. “ The enemy, however, was not defeated ; mea- “ sures were too well concerted, and I fell. “ Ah, Doctor ! how many contemptible beings “ surrounded me ! But if fortune had not be- “ trayed our courage, if we had conquered at “ Waterloo, every thing would have been re- “ paired and revenged ; the nation would have

“ been put in possession of the secret of our disas-  
“ ters ; and I should have offered an expiatory  
“ sacrifice to the manes of my soldiers. What  
“ have these wretches done ? they were sa-  
“ tiated with glory, and they have covered  
“ themselves with opprobrium. But every ac-  
“ tion meets with its due reward ; for who  
“ would be M . . . . . ? A . . . . . ? ” &c. &c. He  
named several individuals, and stopped at S . . . .  
“ Base miscreant ! ” said he, “ he betrayed me  
“ with all the turpitude natural to men of his  
“ cast. After having made his own terms, he  
“ ran to Fontainebleau, represented to me his  
“ situation and his misery ; I divided with him  
“ what remained in my chest, gave him a  
“ thousand *écus*, and he left me apparently agi-  
“ tated by every feeling of gratitude. A few  
“ hours afterwards he had gone over to the  
“ Austrians.”

From the plots of these last periods the Emperor passed to those that were formed at the commencement of his career ; and spoke at length of the machinations which had interfered with his operations during the campaigns of Italy. He related how he had discovered and defeated them, and the light that had been thrown upon the movements of the interior

by the papers he had seized at Padua and Verona. His correspondence had given me some insight into all these intrigues ; I had a general idea of them, but their details escaped me, and I could not understand many of the principal documents. “ There are some from you, Sire, from Augereau, from Bernadotte. I see that you had guessed Willot ; that you would not have ‘ men who only love liberty to lead them to revolutions ;’ that you gave orders that—‘ some individuals should not be allowed to style themselves the people, and commit crimes in its name.’ You say in one of your despatches—‘ Revolutionists are detested here, and all are ready to oppose them, whatever their object may be. No more revolutions ; that is the dearest hope of the soldier. He does not ask for peace, which is the object of his secret wishes, because he knows that it would be the only way not to obtain it, and that those who dread peace call for it loudly, in order that it may not take place. The soldier is preparing for fresh battles ; and if he sometimes turns his eyes towards some towns of the interior, and observes the spirit which animates them, he is grieved to see deserters received and protected, and the laws without efficacy, at

a moment which is to decide the fate of the French nation.' In another place you ask for 'officers accustomed to fight;' you will not have 'generals skilled in scientific retreats.' You exclaim—'that you can only be overcome by disproportion of numbers; that, perhaps, the last moment of the brave Augereau, of the intrepid Massena, of Berthier, and of . . . . is approaching.' I understand: I trace the existence of malevolence and imbecility in the choice of officers, and in the state of abandonment in which you were left. But nothing escaped you; you spoke openly, and they took care not to commit themselves. The emigrants impeded the transports, and encouraged spies; but the army was devoted, and only lived for France and victory. But what signifies the proclamation of Augereau?"—"What proclamation? Read it to me."

"Soldiers! what have I heard? can it be that those arms, which in your hands have been the terror of Europe and the triumph of the Republic,—those victorious arms which you had devoted to the most sacred of causes, and which were once so formidable to the enemies of your country,—are now turned against her by yourselves; that your hands are stained

with French blood, and that you have polluted by fratricides the laurels with which you were crowned? What evil genius has sown discord amongst you? Who has fanned its fire? Who has spread its poison?

“ I have seen my country threatened from abroad, betrayed at home, torn by civil war, tormented by factions, invaded at its frontiers, and a prey to all the horrors of anarchy: I have seen all my fellow-citizens, driven in contrary directions by opposite parties, flock under the banners of each in turn; murdering one day in the name of justice, and the next in the name of humanity: I have seen all the crimes of intolerance, fanaticism, and ambition, and I have shuddered: but in the midst of all these disorders, my eyes were turned towards the army, where I saw union, concord, and fraternity; there, all hatred and passions disappeared before the sacred fire of patriotism and honour leagued together for the defence of all: I admired the sublime example of zeal, constancy, and devotedness it displayed; and I said, if virtue, liberty, and heroism, are banished from the rest of the universe, it is there, in the Republican army, that they have a sure asylum. That consoling reflection has constantly upheld me in the most violent crisis; I felt proud of

being in your ranks: Oh, comrades! will you oblige me to alter my opinion? No; you know that I am your friend. My voice has often guided you to victory: obey the impulse it now seeks to give you. Let us argue: a single word is the cause of your dissensions,—how absurd! You believe yourselves really divided in opinion; but you are mistaken, you all think alike. When you pursued your victorious course from the Pyrenees to the banks of the Danube, and from the ocean to the banks of the Tiber, what was your object—to be free? You are free. You possess laws and rights; in a word, you are *citoyens*. This title has been dearly bought, and ought therefore to be dearly valued; and yet, either from levity or love of novelty, an unmeaning, barbarous, unharmonious name—a name without etymology—after having been proscribed by good sense, has been revived by folly, and fashion has undertaken to bring it into vogue once more. That fashion has crossed the Alps, and our ears have been offended by the whistling sound of *Monsieur*. I am far from suspecting those who have used the word of any bad intention, and I attribute their having done so to want of reflection. I know my countrymen. At first

*Monsieur* has been said, without attaching any importance to it: those who have been displeased with the expression, have perhaps required in too haughty a tone that it should be banished from the intercourse of society; and it has then been thought that compliance with the interdiction might be ascribed to fear. All that is quite enough to produce obstinacy on both sides, but is it enough to justify hatred and destruction?

“ I have bought as dearly as any one the valuable title of *citoyen*, and I am disposed to submit to every sacrifice to preserve it: who amongst you thinks differently? Nobody, I hope. If there are any that do, let them go and carry elsewhere their baseness and their maxims; their departure will be the signal for the return of harmony and union amongst the worthy defenders of our country.

“ You are now approaching the moment when you will enjoy the reward of your labours: peace will enable Government to compensate your sufferings; and I, who have constantly witnessed all the privation you have been exposed to, and all the efforts you have made; I, who know your wants, and wish to supply them, am already preparing at Verona the means of

accomplishing that object on your arrival there. Dress, equipment, arms, food, hospitals, and pay, have all been the subject of my earnest solicitude, and you will feel its effects ; but I expect from you the oblivion of those dissensions which grieve my heart and cause our enemies to smile. Let the love of your country and the honour of the army produce a reconciliation ; so that, when I shall appear again at your head, I may find no more traces of what has happened. I trust that these motives are powerful enough to bring you back to sentiments more worthy of yourselves, and that you will not oblige me, after having tried persuasion, to have recourse to force.

“ ORDER.

“ General Augereau, considering that malevolence, ever ready to seize opportunities of doing harm, has taken advantage of the word *Monsieur* being used in conversation or elsewhere, to sow discord and produce confusion, and that the blood required for the defence of our country has been shed in the quarrels that have followed its adoption ; considering also, that after what has occurred, those who should obstinately persist in using that word can have no other ob-



ject in view than the total ruin of the army ; declares, that henceforth any individual of the division who shall use the word *Monsieur*, either verbally or in writing, under any pretence whatever, shall be degraded and rendered incapable of serving in the armies of the Republic. The present order shall be inserted in the Order of the Day, and read at the head of each company.

“ AUGEREAU.”

“ What ! degrade a man for a single word ?”  
—“ Why not, if that word produces bloodshed,  
“ as it did ?”

“ Bernadotte had gone from the army of the Rhine to that of Italy ; his troops had appeared cold, stiff, and lukewarm, and had become the object of the jokes and sarcasms of the corps commanded by Massena. Anger ensued ; the names of *Monsieur* and *Sans Culotte* were reciprocally given, and bloodshed followed.

“ Such is the disorder which Augereau wished to repress ; and his proclamation gives a faithful picture of the circumstances in which we were placed. Attempts are now made to falsify history ; men incapable of appreciating our labours endeavour to turn the current of opinion ; but the facts speak for themselves,

and they must at last be understood. It was not in the army of Italy that our enemies sought for traitors: from the moment it was commanded by Napoleon, the emigrants could not find in its ranks any body to seduce; the religion of its banners was the only one known. We marched, and every thing vanished before us; Italy was conquered, and Austria reduced to the last extremity. We were striking the aristocracy blow after blow; its existence was threatened, and in its own defence it espied and seized upon every opportunity of retaliation. A victory only produced fresh battles: Wurmser came to avenge Beaulieu, Alvinzi to avenge Wurmser. The army of the Rhine, which was for ever on the point of marching, never moved.

“ The question was between us and them, and was soon decided: success crowned valour, and we triumphed in every direction. The General-in-chief advanced through Tyrol, penetrated into Carinthia, and drove every thing before him. He had made dispositions to be able to support his movement, and prevent the enemy from intercepting us: every chance was foreseen. Having reached Clagenfurt and taken the offensive, he directed his troops to the right, and refused his left, which was

protected by various works." — "I proposed," said the Emperor, "to occupy Salzburg and Innspruck, to cross the Inn, to levy contributions on the suburbs of the capital, and to march into Bavaria. The army of the Rhine again remained inactive, and the plan failed. If Moreau had chosen to co-operate with me, we should have made the most astonishing campaign that ever was fought,— we should have upset Europe : but he went to Paris, did nothing, attempted nothing, and left me once more to cope with all the forces of the Austrian monarchy. I had penetrated into Germany without the least consideration. I had taken 80,000 prisoners, and obliged the Emperor to evacuate Vienna : but immense levies of troops were being raised in all directions ; Hungary was flying to arms ; the Tyrol was on fire ; my position was very critical ; I therefore had recourse to negotiation."

The departments of the war and marine, the whole administration in short, was supported by his victories ; he was obliged to supply the wants of the other armies, to secure the pay of the troops, to furnish horses, to satisfy every claim. In the space of a few months

he had sent fifty-two millions into France.— On the other hand, the Directory had attached to our rear a host of rascals who devoured every thing. Our soldiers were without shoes, money, or clothes, and the hospitals were destitute of the most essential articles: we were assailed by scarcity in the midst of plenty. It was in vain that he represented, threatened, assembled military commissions, drew bills; the commissions were seduced, and the bills dishonoured: he was alone to combat corruption; it was like the task of forcing a torrent back to its source.—“ There was but one way of  
“ putting an end to this state of things, which  
“ was, to establish a commission possessing the  
“ power of inflicting the punishment of death  
“ on these pirates. The policy of the measure  
“ was confirmed by experience and history, and  
“ consistent with the nature of the government:  
“ but it was not to be expected that the depre-  
“ dators themselves would deliver up the sword  
“ which was to strike them: the proposal was re-  
“ jected.” Every thing was exhausted: he no longer knew where to apply, and was besides aware of his political position; he therefore signed the preliminaries of Leoben. The question was now to pass from provisional to de-

finitive conditions, and lay down the basis of a permanent peace: but the democrats did not wish for peace, and the aristocrats still less; the first were anxious to municipalize Europe, and the second waited to see the result of the plots they had formed. "The Emperor will not sign," wrote confidentially the Elector of Hesse; "Clichy is averse to these transactions; and Clichy rules over Paris and its councils: the affair is, therefore, suspended for the present." "These delays did not suit either my ideas or my views: I had seized the papers of the party at Verona, and had just got possession of its papers at Venice. I discovered its plans, its means, the information it possessed; and I knew that corruption prevailed every where, that all were seduced, and ready to betray their trust. In desperate cases, violent remedies must be applied: I appealed to the patriotism of the troops; we framed an address; Augereau carried it, and the club was confounded. Bernadotte also contributed a great deal to defeat the plot: I had sent him to the Directory: he ran to the *Manège*,\* harangued,

\* An assembly so called from holding its deliberations in a riding-school.

“speechified, and struck all the emigrants with  
“terror. But the collection must contain  
“some of his letters : look, after the affair of  
“Venice.”—I opened the book and read :—“ I  
laugh at the extravagance of the partisans of  
royalty. They must possess very little know-  
ledge of those who lead the armies, and of the  
armies themselves, to hope to muzzle them so  
easily ; or to believe that an orator more or less  
learned, more or less venal, can disturb our  
tranquillity ! Those deputies who speak with  
so much impertinence, are far from imagining  
that we should enslave Europe, if you only  
formed the project of so doing.”

“ Enslave Europe ! that is just like the man :  
“ a slave in the saloon, and a brawler in the  
“ anti-chamber, he intrigued and speechified for  
“ ever ; I do not know a man of less probity.  
“ —But look further back ; there must be  
“ another letter.”—“ Your firmness and your  
courage alone can deliver the Republic from the  
frightful precipice prepared for it by the hypo-  
crisy, perfidy, and practised criminality of the  
agents of the altar and the throne.”—“ Was he  
“ then already plotting the conspiracy of the Con-  
“ cordate ? I recognize the style of his pamph-  
“ lets.”—“ A conspiracy ? ”—“ Yes. The generals

“ who defile now-a-days before missionaries,  
“ vergers, cross-bearers, were then indignant at  
“ my re-opening the churches ; my death was to  
“ expiate the outrage offered to reason. Times  
“ are much altered ; but we shall return to the  
“ subject. Read on, I wish to hear his letter.” —  
I saw it just now ; you mean that where his  
honour begins to totter ! — “ Precisely. Ho-  
“ nour was with him what modesty is with  
“ women—a fly ; the least thing alarmed it.  
“ He only felt secure at the *Manège*. But pro-  
“ ceed ; I am listening to you.”

“ TO THE GENERAL IN CHIEF.

“ I saw General Kellerman in passing through Chambery, and communicated to him your notes. He answered : first, That the dépôt of the 21st demi-brigade has been sent to Italy, and that it must now have arrived at Milan. Secondly, That the chief of your staff has only to order the 79th demi-brigade to march, and that he can see no objection to it. He told me that he cannot get rid of the small number of cavalry he has at Lyons ; he must have written to you on the subject. He will send you swords, but he wants money.

“ I have found the republican spirit grown

very lukewarm. Since my passage through the interior of the country, the counter-revolution is effecting itself in the minds of the people: the laws are without vigour; emigrants return; and the tribunals acquit part of them, and do not seek after the remainder. Many deputies say there is in the Assembly of Five Hundred a party decided for the re-establishment of royalty: another party is planning a movement to defeat this faction; but if it takes place, the commotion will be dreadful, for those who shall have excited it will no longer be able to repress it. In the midst of this conflict there is a class of men who fear anarchy as much as royalism: they say little, and are not much seen; but they wait for the proper moment to annihilate the two parties one by the other. These men always apply calming measures to the events that are preparing, and they gain time; so that by removing the period of the explosion from day to day, the Government will by degrees become firmly established, provided it acts with order and prudence.

“The Five Hundred fear the Directory, and that is enough to ensure the superiority of the latter: but to maintain it they must skilfully take advantage of circumstances as they may



occur ; know how to give rise to others ; and frighten, at least by appearances, those members who march openly and with rapid strides to the re-establishment of the throne. These gentlemen seem to have taken Pichegru for their mark : he is flattered, coaxed, caressed : they appear to laugh at him ; and, in point of fact, the party that thrusts him forward knows very well that he is a man of very ordinary stamp. Pichegru has been base enough to abandon the Republican cause : he confounds men with events ; and attempts have been made in vain to convert him. Urged to explain his sentiments, he has answered foolishly, without logic, and with the tone of a man puffed up with pride, and who fancies that his name alone is worth an army. Poor man ! Alas ! he is not very strong.

“ The ice is broken : Pichegru is now known ; —his old friends forsake him, and he loses every day a part of his colossal reputation. I met him at Kleber’s with several northern generals, but we scarcely noticed each other. He had probably been informed of the way in which I had spoken of him, and he was extremely reserved. I followed his example.

“ Three generals are on the lists to command

the guard of the Assembly of Five Hundred ; the first is Kleber, the second Dessaix, and the third Serrurier. Every body has felt that such a command would not be very flattering for either of those three generals, and every one has made his remarks upon the subject ; and the last argument seems to be this— all these three personages have a reputation, and would be very useful, in the event of a commotion, in rallying round the Legislative Body a great number of soldiers and officers of the armies in which they have served. Kleber will not accept the command. Republican from philosophy, he laughs at the perplexity of some, and at the awkwardness of others ; but if ever a commotion takes place, Kleber will put his head out of the window to look at the two parties, and will go and range himself on that side where he will perceive tri-coloured cockades. He is desirous of visiting the field of your glory : I shall bring him with me, and he will be delighted to see the man whose brilliant achievements he has so often admired in the number of flags taken and prisoners made, but still more in the direction he has given to the reins of government.

“ Paris is a horrible residence for a man of

honour; I am tired to death of it, and shall leave it very soon. I shall endeavour to send you some cavalry; if possible, the Richepanse division. Carnot is convinced that if the operations of the war again become active, you will want reinforcements of both cavalry and infantry. I shall speak to Barras and to Rewbell on the subject to-morrow. Adieu! I love you as much as I esteem you."

"There has been a want of sense in all that  
"man's proceedings which I cannot account for.  
"He only aspired after fame and celebrity, and  
"when he had the finest opportunities in the  
"world to acquire them, he did not avail himself  
"of them. At Jena he might have covered him-  
"self with glory: he had only to march; by so  
"doing he would have placed himself in the rear  
"of the Prussian army, and the whole would  
"have been taken. In Saxony, in Belgium . . . .  
"the result would have been *unique* in history;  
"but it required a soul to conceive and execute."  
The Emperor expatiated at great length on the offences of this general: not against himself—he did not value that; but against France, which had given him birth, and the army, to which he owed every thing. "At Austerlitz he had suf-  
"fered his ranks to be broken through; he had

“ slumbered on the Elbe, and run away at  
“ Wagram. He had many times exposed our  
“ eagles to defeat, and had at last guided the  
“ savages of the Don and of Dalecarlia against  
“ them.” Napoleon was animated and vehement. I endeavoured to turn the conversation into another channel. I thought the diplomatic career of Bernadotte irreproachable, and spoke about it. “ What, his talents ? ” — “ But his embassy ? ” — “ Was a series of blunders. Dessaix  
“ was highly incensed against him, and Moreau  
“ shrugged up his shoulders : even his best  
“ friends condemned him.” — “ He hoisted our  
colours.” — “ Could he do less ? but they had no  
“ connection with the riot.” — “ The people of  
Vienna . . . .” — “ Had been taught upon fifty  
“ fields of battle to respect those colours, and  
“ would have taken care not to insult them.  
“ But I had spared the emigrants in Italy ; I  
“ had not pursued to the last extremity a few  
“ unfortunate Frenchmen in the last stage of  
“ misery, and had incurred the blame of the  
“ *Manège*. It was necessary to give proofs of  
“ patriotism, and deserve praises. The am-  
“ bassador endeavoured to submit to his juris-  
“ diction all the emigrants that were beyond  
“ the Rhine. Men rejected by France were

“ not amenable to his agents : they became in-  
“ dignant at a persecution without object ; raised  
“ up and excited a few poor wretches ; and  
“ thus the officious meddling of a blundering  
“ busy-body had well nigh re-opened the arena.  
“ Is that what you admire ? ”—“ I had heard  
other causes assigned to the insurrection.”—  
“ Where ? in his Memoirs ? ”—“ I had the de-  
tails from one of my friends who was at Vienna  
at the time.”—“ And from whom did your  
“ friend hear them ? ”—“ From a Pole who  
possessed the confidence of Bernadotte.”—  
“ Ja—— ? ”—“ Yes, Sire.”—“ The *Providence* of  
“ the embassy, and the guide which the Austrian  
“ police had had the art of giving him ! and  
“ accordingly the *citoyen* ambassador transmitted  
“ precious information to Brune ! If the con-  
“ queror of the Helder had not possessed the  
“ instinct necessary for that kind of war, the  
“ *Italian vespers* would have taken place. You  
“ have resided a long time in Florence, and  
“ have of course heard of the movements of  
“ Manfredini at that period ? ”—“ No, Sire ; I  
only know, that in one of his clandestine jour-  
neys to Vienna he was strangely frightened  
by one of your soldiers.”—“ How so ? ”—“ The

enemy's troops insulted our posts, and provoked them by words and gestures. 'Advance with your corporal!' cried an old Austrian sergeant to the commanding officer of a French round.—'If,' replied the Frenchman, 'you had a corporal like him, and an escort like his, you would come more openly to the point.' Manfredini, who was passing by, thought the observation intended for him; and believing himself discovered, became more circumspect. Rome broke out too soon, Bristol was taken by surprise, and the scheme failed."—"But, Doctor, "you told me, if I recollect rightly, that you "had hitherto only frequented corpses. Let "me tell you that those corpses were tolerably "well informed of the state of affairs. The "account they have given you is not true in "every particular, but neither is it altogether "false. Yet, after all, it is not impossible that "a word pronounced by chance may have had "the result you ascribe to it; the most important determinations have often been produced by circumstances quite as trivial as the "one you have just mentioned: besides, Manfredini had some reason to believe in the tact "of our soldiers." I endeavoured to recollect

the circumstance the Emperor was alluding to ; and learnt that, in point of fact, the reddition of Mantua was due as much to their sagacity as to their courage. Alvinzi was hastening to its assistance with a numerous army, and had sent before him a confidential man, to whom he had entrusted his despatches. The sorties of the garrison were to coincide with his attacks : it was necessary to concert measures for that purpose, and he had nearly succeeded. Our lines were already passed, and the emissary was on the point of entering the fortress, when he was seized by a patrole. He was questioned and searched, but nothing was found on his person ; and he was going to be placed with the mass of other prisoners, when a voltigeur present at the interrogatory took him to task. ‘ Where are your orders ? ’ — ‘ I have none. ’ — ‘ You have. ’ — ‘ But . . . . ’ — ‘ Yes you have some, there, in your belly : confess, or my sword shall soon bring them to light. ’ The Austrian was disconcerted ; and after some hesitation owned the fact, and was shut up in a separate room until he had been delivered of his despatches. They were enclosed in a small cylinder, covered over with a coat of wax, which was dipped in a kind of elixir to facilitate its passage. The Imperialists

had very often had recourse to that expedient; but the perspicacity of this voltigeur deterred them from attempting to use it in future.

This recalls to my mind an anecdote relating to the war with Corsica, which the Emperor often told me. Paoli was master of the island, and his mountaineers covered the plain: it was impossible to correspond with the patriots scattered about in the interior, and yet it was highly expedient to do so, and to threaten Paoli on his rear in order to prevent his marching upon us. "I was acquainted," said Napoleon, "with the friends of France; I knew those that were devoted, and might be relied upon, and I induced La-combe Saint Michel to give them commissions. The difficulty was, to get the commissions delivered; for the passes were well guarded, and the roads covered with spies, and success was therefore not probable: I, however, made the attempt. I chose a cunning active countryman, whom I dressed up in the most miserable rags I could find, and launched him amongst the mountaineers. He was stopped at every post, and for a length of time deceived their vigilance. On these occasions he placed on the ground the



“gourd he carried in his hand, and encouraged  
“and facilitated the search of his person. ‘He  
“had no other object,’ he said, ‘than to obtain  
“some means of supporting his existence; he  
“had relations at Ajaccio, who were in easy  
“circumstances, and he was going to implore  
“their compassion. Was it to be supposed  
“that he, in his miserable condition, would  
“trouble his head about any thing else? that  
“he would serve the French, who had des-  
“troyed his cottage?’ He proceeded in this  
“manner as far as Corte, where the gendar-  
“merie, less confiding, cut up his clothes, from  
“head to foot, even to the soles of his shoes;  
“but nothing was found, and he was going to  
“be released, when some one thought it would  
“be better to inform Paoli. ‘A man who goes  
“about the country to beg, in the circum-  
“stances in which we are placed! he must  
“be an emissary; go and search him, he has  
“some message.’—‘Impossible! we have taken  
“his dress to pieces thread by thread; every  
“part of it has been undone.’—‘His mission is  
“then verbal; for he has one; question him  
“again.’—‘We have tried every thing.’—‘What  
“has he about him?’—‘A little gourd.’—‘Break  
“it.’ They did so, and the commissions were

“found in it. Paoli was not to be so easily  
“deceived.”

The favourable state of the Emperor's health did not long continue: his strength was nearly exhausted; the influence of the latitude was unabated, and it was evident that he must fall a prey to it. Indeed, it was not long before his situation became extremely unsatisfactory. I had left him tolerably well on the 10th, and the next day I found him very much altered.

11th.—I saw the Emperor at four o'clock in the morning. He complained of pains of colic, want of sleep, agitation, sensation of uneasiness. The symptoms begin to assume a serious character; they, however, yielded for the present to a bath and enemas.

12th.—The night had been more tranquil, but the Emperor complained of a kind of hemicrania. He took a foot-bath.

13th.—The Emperor had passed a good night, and the hemicrania was gone. Bath.—Walk. I accompanied the Emperor into the garden. He was weak; and having sat down, he looked around him to the right and to the left, and said, with a painful expression: “Ah, “Doctor! where is France and its cheerful climate? If I could but see it once more! If

“ I could but breathe a little air that had  
“ passed over that happy country! What  
“ a specific is the soil that gave us birth!  
“ Antæus renewed his strength by touching the  
“ earth; and I feel that this prodigy would be  
“ repeated in me, and that I should revive on  
“ perceiving our coasts. Our coasts! Ah! I  
“ had forgotten that cowardice has taken vic-  
“ tory by surprise; its decisions are without  
“ appeal.

“ But do you know, Doctor, that you are a  
“ terrible man? You have disturbed all the  
“ notions I had acquired; you have upset all  
“ the ideas I had formed: I am at a loss what  
“ to make of your work. — ‘ The epidermis is  
“ an organic mass; veins are only prolongations  
“ of the arteries; they form a net, the threads  
“ of which wind back upon themselves, and the  
“ two extremities of which are mixed and con-  
“ fused together . . . .’ — You criticise without  
“ mercy every thing that has been written  
“ upon the subject. Your introduction to the  
“ works of Mascagni is a revolution in ana-  
“ tomy.” — “ I think so, Sire; for it rectifies  
many results improperly studied.” — “ And does  
“ not contain any views too lightly adopted and  
“ promulgated?” — “ I believe not.” — “ What

“ will the anatomists say on seeing old and acknowledged theories destroyed ? ” — “ What men say when they discover their error. ” — “ But your doctrine is totally different from that of our schools. Are there not clever anatomists in Paris ? ” — “ Yes, Sire, many. ” — “ Well ! how, then, does it happen that you do not agree together on the subject ? ” — “ You cultivate science, Sire, and could answer that question better than I can. ” — “ Ah ! you want me to give the answer myself ; you are afraid the faculty may be listening to what we say ? ” — “ No, Sire ; but every man takes his own view of a subject. One follows one thing, another pursues another ; and very often the man who does not obtain any result, displays more sagacity than the man who makes a discovery. ” — “ You fear that I may accuse you of presumption ; such is not my intention : but you come from the Cape of Corsica ; are you not marked with the stamp of your country ? ” — “ How, Sire ? ” — “ Oh ! I know you well, *Capo-Corsini* ; you are always dissatisfied ; you find nothing good but what you have done yourselves. ” — “ We, Sire ? ” — “ Yes, you. I came into this world in the arms of old *Mammuccia Caterina* ; so you

“ may judge whether I have experience on the  
“ subject. She was stubborn and testy, and  
“ constantly quarrelling with all around her ;  
“ and particularly with my grandmother, to  
“ whom she was, however, very much at-  
“ tached, and who also loved her very much  
“ in return. They were continually arguing  
“ and disputing ; their discussions were inter-  
“ minable, and amused us exceedingly. You  
“ look serious, Doctor ; the description hurts  
“ your feelings : but be consoled, for if your  
“ countrywoman was of a scolding disposition,  
“ she was also kind and affectionate ; she  
“ walked out with us, amused us, and treated  
“ us with a degree of care and solicitude which  
“ I have never forgotten. I still recollect the  
“ tears she shed when I left Corsica, now upwards  
“ of forty years ago. You were not born then ;  
“ and I was young, and did not foresee the  
“ glory that awaited me, and still less that we  
“ should one day meet here. But the decrees  
“ of fate are immutable, and every one must  
“ submit to his destiny. Mine was to run  
“ through the extremes of life, and I set out  
“ to accomplish the task allotted to me. My  
“ father was going to Versailles as deputy of  
“ the nobility of Corsica, and I accompanied

“ him. We passed through Tuscany, where I  
“ saw Florence and the Grand Duke, and ar-  
“ rived at Paris. We were recommended to  
“ the Queen: my father met with a most flat-  
“ tering reception, and I entered Brienne. I  
“ was happy; my ideas began to ferment; I  
“ felt a want to learn, to know, to push myself  
“ forward; and I devoured the contents of  
“ every book I could procure. In a short time  
“ I became the theme of universal conversation  
“ at the school: I was admired and envied; I  
“ felt a consciousness of my own powers, and  
“ enjoyed my superiority. Not that there did  
“ not already then exist some charitable souls  
“ who endeavoured to embitter my satisfaction.  
“ I had, on arriving at the school, been intro-  
“ duced into a room, in which was a portrait of  
“ the Duke of Choiseul; and the sight of that  
“ odious man, who had sold my country, had  
“ drawn from me an expression of hatred and  
“ contempt. This was blasphemy—this was a  
“ crime sufficient to efface my success; but I  
“ allowed malevolence to vent itself, and ap-  
“ plied to study with redoubled ardour and  
“ application. I saw what men are, and made  
“ my profit of the observation.”

14th.—Napoleon a little better.—Bath.—Ex-

ercise. I followed the Emperor into the garden. “Did you frequently visit Corsica,” said he, “whilst you resided in Italy?”—“Very seldom, Sire.”—“You are at all events acquainted with the history of Corsica? You know that I have written one of that country?”—“Yes, Sire; I have heard that you have.”—“I was then eighteen years old, and full of fire: the struggle was not yet over; and I was burning with patriotism and liberty; republicanism issued from every pore. I submitted the result of my labour to Raynal,\* who approved of it, praised me, and advised me to print my work. — I listened to his praises, and disregarded his advice; and I acted wisely; for young as I then was, I must have followed the beaten track—distorted events, supposed intentions, and lost myself in erroneous views. I was quite a novice, a stranger to the arts of war and of administration, and not yet initiated into the secret of affairs; and I probably judged those who had directed them with the same impertinence as I am now judged. — Have you read . . . . But you only read books on physiology; you know

\* Abbé Raynal, the historian.

“ nothing about the rhapsodies which are every  
“ day issued into the world.”

The Emperor passed some works in review, and reverted again to Corsica, and the friends of his infancy.—“ Do you know Barberi?”—“ The son of the President of the Board of Health, who conducted the friends of Moltedo and Cittadella on board the *Muiron*?” —“ Precisely. “ I one day played him a trick which caused  
“ his appetite to murmur sadly.—It was in the  
“ year 1793: I had obtained leave of absence,  
“ and had come to spend it at Ajaccio. I was  
“ then only a captain, and foreseeing the war  
“ was likely to be long and severe, I was pre-  
“ paring myself accordingly. I had, therefore,  
“ established my study in the quietest room in  
“ the house—in one of the garrets; I received  
“ nobody, seldom went out, and devoted my  
“ whole time to study. One Sunday morning  
“ as I was crossing the *Place du Môle* I met  
“ Barberi, who reproached me with my se-  
“ clusion and never being seen by my friends,  
“ and proposed to me to take a walk. I con-  
“ sented to accompany him, on condition that  
“ we should make an aquatic excursion. He  
“ beckoned to the sailors of a ship, of which he  
“ was in part owner: they came, and we em-



“ barked. My object was to measure the extent  
“ of the gulf, and I directed them to proceed  
“ towards the *Recanto*. I seated myself astern,  
“ let out my ball of string, and obtained the re-  
“ sult I wanted. When we got to the *Costa* we  
“ climbed to its summit: the position was mag-  
“ nificent; it is the same upon which the Eng-  
“ lish afterwards placed a redoubt; it com-  
“ manded Ajaccio, and I was desirous of study-  
“ ing it. Barberi, who took very little interest  
“ in that kind of researches, urged me to put  
“ an end to mine. I endeavoured to engage  
“ his attention, and to gain time; but hunger  
“ closed his ears. If I spoke of the extent of  
“ the gulf, he replied, that he had not yet  
“ broken his fast; if I pointed out the steeple,  
“ or such and such a house, which I could easily  
“ strike with my bombs, ‘Very well,’ answered  
“ he; ‘but I have just taken exercise, and a  
“ good breakfast is waiting for me: let us go.’  
“ We started at last; but his friends had been  
“ tired of waiting for him, and when he ar-  
“ rived, repast and guests had all disappeared.  
“ He resolved to be more circumspect in fu-  
“ ture, and to take good care to observe an-  
“ other time the hour at which he should go  
“ out on a reconnoitring excursion.”

15th.—I saw the Emperor at nine o'clock A.M. and found him in the same state.—Bath and exercise.

16th.—The Emperor was gloomy, and appeared uneasy. He questioned me respecting his sufferings, and the symptoms of his disorder. I perceived that something preyed upon his mind which he could not bring himself to express ; and I thought I guessed what it was. I began a discussion about hereditary diseases. “ You do not believe in them ? ” — “ No, Sire.” “ The mal-organisation of a father does not influence the constitution of his children ? ” — “ If such were the case, hump-backed parents would only produce hump-backed children ; and the progeny of rickety individuals would be rickety in their turn : and yet we see every day the finest men spring from sources the most ill-favoured by nature.” — “ That doctrine is, however, admitted in all the schools.” — “ No, Sire : there exists none that does not now disown it.” — “ What ! the schools in England also ? ” — “ Also, Sire. Hunter, one of the greatest physicians England has produced, was the first to combat that theory ; and all the schools have adopted his ideas on the subject.” — “ And yet the professional men who are here,

“endeavour to give currency to a contrary  
“opinion. Do they, perhaps, derive their  
“medical inspirations from Hudson?” — “I  
cannot pretend to say, Sire; but they cannot  
possibly believe in the transmission of diseases;  
the utmost they can do is to admit the trans-  
mission of a certain aptitude to contract them.”  
— “Ah! but neither England nor myself have  
“any thing to do with their connexion.” And  
he began to relate the details of the disorder of  
which his father had died.

“He was ill when he set off from Corsica, and  
“change of air had not done him any good.  
“He suffered, grew thin, and could not digest  
“what he ate; and finding no benefit to com-  
“pensate for absence, he became desirous of  
“seeing his family again. He started, and got  
“as far as Montpellier: but suddenly the com-  
“plaint took a serious turn; he was attacked  
“by constant vomiting, and nothing passed  
“through or remained on his stomach. He  
“consulted physicians, and gorged himself with  
“medicines, without deriving the least benefit  
“from either. At last he was advised to fol-  
“low a certain diet, and to eat juicy pears;  
“and he returned to Paris, where they are more  
“common and of a better quality. He ate

“ a great quantity of them, and took a great  
“ deal of exercise, and got well again. He  
“ was fresh and active, and his complexion was  
“ that of a man likely to live two hundred  
“ years. Unfortunately, however, the principle  
“ of the disorder was not extirpated : this was  
“ only a reprieve ; the disease had only halted,  
“ and it soon resumed its course with increased  
“ violence. My father had not been many  
“ months in Corsica before he found himself  
“ worse than before. The faculty had once  
“ saved his life, and he thought they might  
“ save it again ; he therefore took Joseph with  
“ him, and set out for Montpellier : but his  
“ hour was come ; all medicines proved unavail-  
“ ing, and he died. It was dying very young,  
“ for he was only thirty-eight years old. His  
“ complaint had appeared singular ; he was  
“ opened, and it was found that he had a  
“ *scirrhus in the pylorus*. You do not think  
“ that kind of affection can be transmitted with  
“ the principle of life ?”—“ No, Sire ; diseases  
no more pass from father to son than inclina-  
tions and talents ; the difference in which is  
not contested by any body.” — “ It is true  
“ that my father and myself are very unlike  
“ each other in many respects. He was fond

“ of spirituous liquors—I cannot bear them :  
“ he loved good living—my stomach will not  
“ allow the slightest excess. The smallest piece  
“ of bread, or a drop of water, above the usual  
“ quantity, is immediately thrown up : and ob-  
“ serve the sagacity of Nature—she stops when  
“ the superabundant portion has been rejected.  
“ My father was, however, a man endowed with  
“ courage and penetration ; he cultivated poe-  
“ try, was eloquent, and would have shone if  
“ he had lived.

“ I was entirely ignorant of his situation and  
“ his sufferings, and was quietly pursuing my  
“ studies, whilst he was struggling against the  
“ violence of a painful agony. He asked for me,  
“ called for me, and in his delirium invoked  
“ the assistance of my great sword : but I was  
“ too far from him ; he died, and I had not the  
“ consolation to close his eyes : this sad duty  
“ was reserved for Joseph, who acquitted him-  
“ self of it with all the zeal of an affectionate  
“ son. A circumstance connected with this  
“ melancholy event struck me very forcibly :—  
“ my father, who was far from being religiously  
“ inclined, and who had even composed some  
“ anti-religious poetry, no sooner saw the grave  
“ half-opened, than he became passionately fond

“ of priests ! He wished for them—called for  
“ them ; there were not priests enough in  
“ Montpellier to satisfy him. A change so sud-  
“ den, and which, however, occurs in the case  
“ of every individual labouring under a serious  
“ illness, can only be accounted for by the  
“ disorder into which the disease throws the  
“ human frame.—The organs become blunted,  
“ their re-action ceases, the moral faculties are  
“ shaken ; the head is gone, and thence the  
“ desire for confession, *oremuses*,\* and all the  
“ fine things, without which, it seems, we can-  
“ not die. But see man in the plenitude of  
“ his powers : see those columns ready to march  
“ on the field of battle ; the drum beats the  
“ charge—they rush forward—the cannon roars  
“ —they fall ; and priests and confession are out  
“ of the question.”

17th.—Same state of health.—Same pre-  
scription.

The Emperor was pre-occupied and thought-  
ful, and I was endeavouring to divine the cause  
of his anxiety, when I saw my anatomical work  
half open before him. This circumstance was  
decisive. I had guessed rightly : Napoleon

\* A term of the Catholic church, corresponding to our  
“ Let us pray.”

dreaded being attacked with the disease which had killed his father. He dared not avow his fears; and consulted books, to obtain from them that information which he would not ask of men. I would have given the world to dissipate those vain alarms; but I had learnt by experience not to promote confidential communications, and I avoided opening a discussion which would have wounded his feelings. He was silent; and having planned a botanical excursion, I was going to retire. “No,” said he, “stay; I recollect what you said to me, and have a few questions to ask you. You are continually speaking of air, of the liver: what action do those two bodies exercise one upon the other? How is it that that action which is mortal here on this rock is beneficial elsewhere?” — “It is not known, Sire.” — “How! it is not known what in an aëriform fluid wounds such or such an organ?” — “No more than it is known what constitutes pestilence, what produces the difference between a pure and an impure air.” — “Has no attempt been made to isolate that fatal principle?” — “The attempt has been made, but in vain: it is too subtle; and escapes from every process science has hitherto been able to devise.”

—“ But the atmosphere that surrounds an  
“ individual infected with the plague, cannot  
“ offer the same elements of composition as  
“ that of a healthy individual.” — “ I should  
think not ; but I do not believe there are many  
chemists who would be tempted to analyse  
such an atmosphere.” — “ Why not ? There is  
“ the courage of the laboratory as well as that  
“ of the field of battle ; besides, what a differ-  
“ ence in the results ! Do you not think that  
“ the glory of putting an end to this dreadful  
“ scourge, or of having attempted to do so,  
“ would counterbalance the danger of the ex-  
“ periment ? — But to return to our subject,  
“ what are the functions of the liver, its action,  
“ and structure ? ” — I explained them to him.  
“ Very well,” said he, when I had done ; “ your  
“ method appears to me new and correct ; you  
“ simplify the human frame, which is really  
“ complex enough not to want the super-addi-  
“ tions of the physiologists : but whence does it  
“ arise that your doctrines are so unlike what is  
“ found in the works that exist on the subject ?  
“ Is, then, France behind-hand in that respect ?  
“ Paris less advanced than Florence ? ” — “ Mas-  
cagni has given such an impulse to science, that  
he has left all those who cultivate it far behind



him: there are only a few men in France, in Germany. . . .”—“In Germany! who are they, “pray? Is Doctor Frank one of them?”—I shared the general opinion respecting the skill of that celebrated practitioner, and therefore immediately replied that he was a very clever man. “Clever indeed! I had a proof of his “talents the last time I was at Vienna. A “slight eruption had broken out on the back “of my neck; it was a mere trifle, but my “suite were uneasy about it, and urged me “to see a physician whose merit was so much “extolled. I consented, and Frank was sent “for. He found that I was attacked with “a malignant scurfy affection—a serious complaint. I was to undergo a preparatory “treatment, take medicines; in short, there “was no end to all I was to do. I sent for “Corvisart, and that circumstance was quite “enough to revive past hopes. I was ill, in “bed, mad: every one told his own story, “made his own conjecture; agitation already “began to manifest itself every where. The “physician, whose uneasiness was increased by “all that he heard and saw, made the utmost “haste, and did not stop until he got to “Schoenbrunn. He expected to find me dying.

“ and his surprise was extreme when he was  
“ told that I was passing a review. I came in,  
“ and his arrival was announced to me. I  
“ laughed at his astonishment. ‘ Well, Corvi-  
“ sart, what news? what is said at Paris? Do  
“ you know that they maintain here that I am  
“ very ill? I have a slight eruption, and a slight  
“ pain in my head, and Doctor Frank pretends  
“ that I am labouring under a scurfy affection,  
“ which requires a long and serious treatment;  
“ what do you think about it?’ I had taken  
“ off my cravat: Corvisart examined my neck.  
“ ‘ Ah, Sire! to make me come from such a  
“ distance to prescribe a blister, which the  
“ last of physicians might have done as well as  
“ myself. Frank is dreaming; you are perfectly  
“ well: this eruption is merely the remains of  
“ a former one that was not well cured, and will  
“ not resist four days’ blistering.’ Corvisart  
“ was right; it disappeared as he had said,  
“ and never returned. ‘ You see, Sire,’ said  
“ he, as he was dressing the wound for the last  
“ time, ‘ all the dreadful diseases which this  
“ German had threatened you with, are reduced  
“ to this.’ He went to pay a visit to Frank,  
“ thanked him, not very graciously, for the  
“ rapid journey he had occasioned him, and

“ set off again for Paris. His return calmed the  
“ agitation that had prevailed ; it shewed that  
“ I was not yet near my end. There is a time  
“ for every thing.” The Emperor here changed  
the conversation, and passed in review the intrigues which disturbed Germany at that period. He spoke of Schill, of Dornberg, of the Queen of Prussia. The plan, he said, was vast and well conceived ; but hesitation, hurry, and a want of unity, prevailed in its execution. Wagram occurred, and it became necessary to postpone the game to some future period. It was the first time I heard of these plots and intrigues, and I could neither understand their secret springs nor their *ensemble*. I therefore tried to turn the conversation, and mentioned the name of Muller. On hearing it, Napoleon expressed himself in the kindest terms respecting that celebrated man, and expatiated on his talents. He was short, thin, ill-favoured, and mean-looking : but this wretched exterior, and the ugliest features imaginable, concealed the most comprehensive mind ever possessed by man. He was introduced to the Emperor after the battle of Jena ; and being supposed to be the author of the manifesto, Napoleon addressed to him some jocular observations on the

subject. "I, Sire!" said Muller, "the author of the manifesto against you! Your Majesty must have a very poor opinion of me!"—"I spent a few hours in conversation with him," added Napoleon; "his views were profound and his ideas vast and elevated. I put him at the head of the foreign affairs of Westphalia; but Jerome, who had placed his confidence elsewhere, superseded him, and gave him a situation for which he was quite unfit." From Muller Napoleon proceeded to Goethe and Wieland, and passed the highest encomium upon those two celebrated characters. I reminded him of the conversation he had had with the last mentioned. "You have heard of it?"—"Yes, Sire; it has been circulated every where throughout Germany, and I took a copy of it at Frankfort." The Emperor expressed a wish to see it, and I delivered it to him. It was as follows:—

"I had not been many minutes in the drawing-room, (it is Wieland who speaks), when Napoleon crossed it to come towards us. The Duchess of Weimar introduced me to him with the usual ceremonies. He addressed himself to me in the most affable manner, uttering some flattering expressions in my praise, and

looking steadfastly at me at the same time. Few men have appeared to me to possess, in the degree he does, the faculty of reading the thoughts of another at the first glance. He immediately guessed that, notwithstanding my fame, I was simple and unaffected ; and as he seemed desirous of producing a favourable impression upon my mind, he had assumed the tone the best calculated to attain that end. I have never seen a man apparently more calm, or milder, or who displayed less pretensions. Nothing in him betrayed the sentiment of consciousness of his power as a great monarch. He spoke to me as an old acquaintance would speak to his equal ; and what was most extraordinary for him, he conversed exclusively with me an hour and a half, to the great surprise of all present. At last, it being nearly twelve o'clock, I began to feel that it was not proper to occupy so much of his time, and I took the liberty of asking his Majesty's permission to withdraw. ' Well, go ! ' said he, in the most friendly tone, ' good night ! '

" The following are the most remarkable parts of our conversation. The tragedy that had just been represented having led us to speak of Julius Cæsar, Napoleon said, that he was one of

the greatest men named in history, and that he would have been the greatest of all, but for the fault he committed. I was going to ask him to what fault he alluded, when, appearing to read in my eyes the question I was about to put, he added: 'Cæsar knew the men that were plotting to get rid of him; he, therefore, ought to have got rid of them.' If Napoleon had been able to see what was then passing in my mind, he would have read that *he* would never be accused of committing such a fault."

The Emperor paused awhile, pronounced a few words, and continued to read. "From Cæsar the conversation turned upon the Romans, and Napoleon warmly eulogised their political and military system. The Greeks, on the contrary, did not appear to rank high in his estimation. 'The eternal quarrels of their petty republics,' said he, 'were not calculated to produce any thing great; whilst the Romans, on the contrary, always aimed at great things, and thus raised that colossus which traversed the world.' I pleaded in favour of the fine arts and literature of the Greeks; but he treated them with contempt, and said that they only served in their hands to fo-

ment dissensions. He preferred Ossian to Homer; he only relished poetry of a sublime cast, writers possessing energy and pathos, and, above all, tragic poets. He spoke of Ariosto in the same terms as the Cardinal Hyppolite D'Este, not perceiving that he thereby paid me a very ungracious compliment. He seemed to have no taste for lively and humorous compositions; and, in spite of the flattering affability of his manners, the thought occurred to me more than once, that he appeared to be made of bronze.

“ Napoleon had so completely divested me of all feeling of restraint, that I asked him how it had happened that public worship, which he had restored in France, had not become more philosophical, and more in harmony with the spirit of the times? ‘ My dear Wieland,’ answered he, ‘ religion is not made for philosophers; they neither believe in me, nor in my priests: and as for those who do believe, it is impossible to give them, or to leave them, too much of the marvellous. If I were to make a religion for philosophers, it would be quite the reverse of that professed by the credulous.’ ” — “ That is just like them,” said Napoleon, as he gave me back the document; “ blaming, discoursing, pronouncing with that

“ laughable assurance which characterises these  
“ men of theory. I received the priests, be-  
“ cause it was necessary, to render the Revolu-  
“ tion popular, to consecrate the republic, and  
“ make them preach up those very dogmas re-  
“ specting which they had alarmed the peo-  
“ ple’s conscience. They had been foolishly  
“ excluded from the nation, and thus reduced  
“ to oppose doctrines which they had at first  
“ adopted. I reconciled them with those doc-  
“ trines, and they desired no better. I knew,  
“ besides, by experience, what a powerful lever  
“ they hold in their hands. It was in vain that  
“ I conquered in Italy, and dispersed the armies  
“ opposed to me ; the least reverse sufficed to  
“ render problematical, once more, what the  
“ fate of arms had decided. The Austrians  
“ would then come forward, and the Pope join  
“ them ; the former supplying troops, the latter  
“ fanaticism, and their soldiers, predictions,  
“ and miracles, produced an effect which stag-  
“ gered even our own partisans. I was  
“ much struck with the impression made  
“ upon the Bolognese, by the withholding of  
“ some benedictions which were lavished on  
“ the inhabitants of Lugo ; and I began to treat  
“ with the Pope. The Directory did not relish  
“ this negotiation ; they wished to upset the



“ *idol*, and attack Naples, Genoa, and Venice,  
“ and municipalize Europe. I refused to lend  
“ myself to these extravagant plans, and did not  
“ conceal it. ‘ The *prestige* of our power is va-  
“ nishing, the enemy now reckons our numbers,’  
“ said I to the President: ‘ it is indispensably  
“ necessary that you should take into consi-  
“ deration the situation of the army, and should  
“ adopt a system calculated to insure you  
“ friends, as well amongst the princes as  
“ amongst the people. Diminish the number  
“ of your enemies. The influence of Rome is  
“ incalculable: it was wrong to break with  
“ that power; she derives advantages from our  
“ rupture. Had I been consulted, I should  
“ have delayed the negociation as I have de-  
“ layed that of Genoa and Venice. Each thing  
“ has its turn. In the mean time send me  
“ troops, if you wish, I do not say to upset  
“ thrones, but to preserve Italy.’—All that  
“ was, however, so ill conducted, that it was  
“ enough to excite compassion. Since it had  
“ been resolved not to conclude with Rome, it  
“ was necessary, at least, to wait until she had  
“ fulfilled the conditions of the armistice; we  
“ should then have had the five millions which  
“ the Pope was paying, to balance the amount  
“ of the contributions I had imposed upon him,

“ and a part of which was already at Rimini.  
“ Instead of obliging him to decide upon every  
“ article of the treaty, and allowing time for  
“ the arrival at Bologna of a corps of troops,  
“ the strength of which would have been mag-  
“ nified by report, the whole treaty was shewn  
“ to him at once, and at the moment the army  
“ was engaged in the passes of the Tyrol.  
“ This ill-advised measure very nearly cost us  
“ ten millions in supplies, and the *chefs-d'œuvre*  
“ of Italy, which a delay of a few days would  
“ have secured to us. But I repaired these  
“ errors; I drove back the Austrians; Maury  
“ calmed the preachers whom he had excited,  
“ and we escaped from the seditions prepared  
“ against us.” The Emperor spoke at length  
about the system of conciliation which he had  
adopted from that moment, and of the repug-  
nance and the obstacles opposed to him by his  
friends, his relations, and even his aides-de-camp.  
The following letter will give some idea of the  
aversion with which he was surrounded, and of  
all the fears and forebodings over which he had  
to triumph.

“ Your letter, my dear Lannes, has refreshed  
my blood, and never, I confess, did I stand so  
much in need of consolation. I cannot con-  
template without terror that host of emigrants

thirsting after vengeance, who surround the Government, and seize upon the patrimony of the Republicans. Let Bonaparte not deceive himself: these men who have at first considered their return as a favour, will soon look upon it as an act of necessity; their pretensions will rise in proportion as they gain influence, and they will in the end renew their plots and machinations, if, indeed, those plots have ever been interrupted. A frightful alternative, then, presents itself,—either the Government will adopt violent measures, which will tend to render it odious, or it will be overthrown. The only way to escape from such a fate, to save France, and to gain immortal fame, is, as I have told Bonaparte a hundred times, to call around him men who have sincerely the interest of their country at heart. What can he expect from those political cameleons, who, under every new circumstance, have assumed a new mask; who are as contemptible by the mutability of their opinions, as by the baseness of their character; who have been the flatterers of power in whatever hands it was placed; who have shared in all the crimes, fomented all the excesses, and aggravated all the misfortunes, of the Revolution? Republicans are the only men he can unalterably

attach to himself, and it is easy to see why: the Royalists will ever regret their distinctions, their privileges, their riches; places and influence will never console them for the absence of their idol, and they will only accept them in order to be enabled to rebuild its altars. The Republicans, on the contrary, no longer consider that they possess the right to exact any thing; and they will be grateful for the good done to them, and even for the evil which will not be inflicted upon them. Let no fears be entertained with respect to old demagogue dreams; they have vanished. Let talents, probity, and even fortune, be required of men holding public situations; I can see no objection to it: but let nothing be exclusive; for, notwithstanding the fine arguments of our metaphysicians, the first merit of a man towards a Government is devotedness to it.

“ The fate of our country, my dear Lannes, now depends upon the stability of the order established; but the truth of this proposition, which for us bears the character of evidence, is not yet generally felt. Every letter I receive from the interior informs me that there exist seeds of discontent, and that mistrust and anxiety prevail to a considerable extent. The

army also does not view quietly certain appointments. The name of Bonaparte alone still maintains confidence; but let him answer this question: If the First Consul were not present to restrain the excesses of passions, what would become of the State? And who can warrant the duration of his existence? It is therefore necessary to raise up a rampart independent of that existence, and sufficiently strong to oppose disorders, the bare idea of which makes one shudder; and such a rampart will be raised when public situations shall be filled by staunch patriots. Never cease, my dear friend, to repeat these truths; and, since his ear is still accessible to the accents of candour, use the influence your integrity and your friendship for him give you, to induce him to beware of those perfidious beings who only flatter him to kill him. Bonaparte is the man of our country: our fate is closely linked with his; we must undeceive him and save him. Yours,

“O.”

18th. Found the Emperor's health in the same state.—Ordered the same remedies.

Napoleon was now quite well again. He was active and in good spirits, congratulating

himself upon having escaped from medicines. Patience, he said, was at least as efficacious as pills ; and I had some reason to be convinced of its virtue. I was going to reply, but he had hardly said the last words, before he was in the next room. I followed him, and we went into the garden, where the conversation turned exclusively upon Corsica, the years of his childhood, and his relations. His entrance into this world had been as sudden and unexpected, as his elevation and his subsequent misfortunes. His mother, though near her term, had shared the fatigues of the war for liberty ; the celebration of the festival of the Assumption occurred, and she thought her strength still sufficient to allow her to be present at the solemnization of the day : she was, however, mistaken ; for before she could reach the church the pains of labour came on. “ She  
“ then hastily turned back, got as far as her  
“ drawing-room, where she deposited me on an  
“ old carpet. I was called Napoleon—the name  
“ which for centuries past was given to the  
“ second sons of our family, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of our connection  
“ with a certain *Napoleon des Ursins*, celebrated  
“ in the records of Italy.” In recapitulating the

events that had preceded his birth, he admired the courage and strength of mind his mother had then displayed, and with which she had borne losses and privations of every kind, and braved fatigue and danger. “She had the head  
“of a man upon the body of a woman. Such  
“was not the case with the Archdeacon; he  
“regretted his goats, the Genoese, and every  
“thing that was gone. He was, however, a  
“most worthy man; good, generous, and en-  
“lightened: he acted the part of a father  
“towards us, and retrieved the affairs of our  
“house. Sound in mind, though bed-ridden  
“by infirmities, he suffered no abuse to escape  
“his vigilance. He knew the strength and the  
“number of our cattle, ordered such animal to  
“be killed, such other to be sold or kept, as-  
“signed to each herdsman his lot, and gave  
“each his particular instructions. Our mills,  
“our cellars, our vineyards, were kept under  
“the same strict regulations; order and abun-  
“dance reigned every where, and our situation  
“had never been more prosperous. The old  
“gentleman was rich, but did not like to part  
“with his cash, and was particularly bent upon  
“persuading us that he did not economize.  
“When I asked him for money, he would

“ answer, ‘ You know very well that I have  
“ none, and that the expeditions of your father  
“ have not left me any thing.’ At the same  
“ time he authorized me to sell a head of cattle,  
“ or a pipe of wine, and that answered the same  
“ purpose. We had, however, seen a certain  
“ bag, and we were vexed to hear him plead  
“ poverty with gold pieces in his bed; we  
“ therefore resolved to play him a trick. Pau-  
“ line was then quite a child : we gave her our  
“ instructions. She pulled out the bag, and the  
“ doubloons rolled about and covered the floor.  
“ We laughed heartily, whilst the old gentle-  
“ man was half choked with rage and con-  
“ fusion. Mamma came, scolded us, and picked  
“ up the money, which the Archdeacon as-  
“ sured us did not belong to him. We had our  
“ own opinions upon that subject, but took  
“ care not to contradict him. Shortly after this  
“ he was taken ill, and was soon at the point of  
“ death. We were all standing round his bed,  
“ and deploring the loss we were about to  
“ sustain, when Fesch, suddenly fired with a  
“ holy zeal, offered to read him the usual  
“ homilies. The dying man interrupted him, but  
“ Fesch took no notice of it, and continued his  
“ pious occupation. At last the Archdeacon lost



“ all patience ; ‘ Leave me alone ! ’ said he ; ‘ I  
“ have only a few minutes to live, which I wish  
“ to devote to my family.’ He then bade us  
“ approach his bed, and gave us some advice  
“ and instructions. ‘ You are the eldest of the  
“ family,’ said he to Joseph, ‘ but the head of it  
“ is Napoleon ; recollect that ! ’ and he expired,  
“ amidst the tears and lamentations which this  
“ melancholy spectacle drew from us.

“ Left without a guide or protector, my  
“ mother was obliged to take upon herself the  
“ direction of affairs ; and the burthen was not  
“ too much for her strength. She conducted  
“ and administered every thing with a degree  
“ of wisdom and sagacity not to be expected  
“ from her sex and age. Ah, Doctor ! what a  
“ woman ! where shall we find her equal ? ”

I was listening, and admiring the Emperor’s  
recital, and waiting until he should think of  
himself again and speak to me about his  
health. This soon occurred. He had not taken  
any exercise for such a length of time that he  
was quite tired, and felt surprised at his lassi-  
tude, which was a natural consequence of the  
life he had been leading. “ What am I to do,  
“ Doctor ? ” — “ Take exercise. ” — “ Where ? ” —  
“ In the gardens—in the fields—in the open

air.”—“ What ! in the midst of the red-coats ?”  
—“ No, Sire.”—“ How then ?”—“ You must dig the ground, turn up the earth, and thus escape from inactivity and insult at the same time.”—“ Dig the ground ! yes, Doctor, you are right, I will dig the ground.” We returned in-doors, the Emperor made his arrangements, and the next morning he was already at work. He named Noveraz, who had been accustomed to rural occupations, head-gardener, and worked under his directions. His first attempts were successful ; and, desirous that I should witness his dexterity, he sent for me. “ Well, Doctor,” said he, as I approached, “ are you satisfied with your patient ? is he obedient enough ?” In saying this, he held up his spade, laughed, looked at me, shook his head, glancing his eye at what he had done. “ This is better than your pills, *Dottoraccio* ; you shall not physic me any more.” He set to work again, but left off after a few minutes. “ This occupation is too laborious ; I am exhausted. My hands conspire with my weakness, they pain me ; the remainder another time.” And he threw down the spade. “ You are laughing,” said he ; “ I see the cause of your mer- riment ; you pity my fair hands. Never mind,

“ I have always accustomed my body to bend  
“ to my will, and I shall bring it to do so  
“ now, and inure it to this exercise.” He did  
so, and soon grew fond of it. He carried away  
the mould, caused it to be conveyed from one  
spot to another, and pressed all Longwood into  
his service. The ladies, alone, escaped from  
their share of the labour, though not without  
great difficulty, and reluctance on the part of  
the Emperor to refrain from setting them to  
work. He laughed at them, pressed them,  
entreated them, and used every art of per-  
suasion, particularly with Madame Bertrand.  
He assured her that the exercise of gardening  
was more beneficial to health than the medicines  
I was continually prescribing; that, moreover,  
it formed part of my prescriptions—that I had  
ordered it.

The Emperor urged us, excited us, and  
every thing around us soon assumed a different  
aspect. Here was an excavation, there a basin  
or a road. We made alleys, grottoes, cascades :  
the appearance of the ground had now some  
life and diversity. We planted willows, oaks,  
peach-trees, to give a little shade round the  
house.—Having completed the ornamental part  
of our labours, we turned to the useful. We

divided the ground, we manured it, and sowed it with abundance of beans, peas, and every vegetable that grows in the island. The Governor heard of our plantations, &c., and looked upon them with a suspicious eye: this great movement was certainly intended to mask some conspiracy, some plot. He hastened to the spot. I was taking my usual walk; he saw me, quickened his pace, and came up to me. "Is it by your advice that General Bonaparte takes this violent exercise?" I assented, and he shrugged up his shoulders, protesting that he could not conceive what we were about. "You harass yourselves in transplanting trees in a soil without humidity, and exposed to a burning sun; it is labour lost, they will die—not one will grow up." I thanked his Excellency for his kind solicitude, and assured him that he entertained too unfavourable an opinion of the country under his command; that our young shoots were doing very well, and that many were already budding. Sir Hudson shook his head and withdrew. I informed the Emperor of my having met the Governor, and of our conversation. "The wretch," said he, "envies me every minute that he does not embitter. He wishes my

“ death ; he calls for that moment ; it comes too  
“ slowly to satisfy his impatience. But let him  
“ be comforted ; this horrible climate is charged  
“ with the execution of the crime, and it will  
“ fulfil its trust sooner than he expects.”

The activity of our labours was such, that we should soon, at the rate we were going on, have dug the island all over,—and we had but a small fraction of it. Napoleon, perceiving that we should come too soon to the end of our task, slackened our exertions, and I remained alone with him to finish the sowing. I broke the furrows, he threw the seed and covered it over, arguing at the same time, or relating some anecdote, and only stopping now and then for a joke. One day, as he was arranging a bed of French beans, he perceived some small roots, and began a dissertation upon the phenomena of vegetation. He analysed them, and descanted upon them with his usual sagacity, drawing from them the conclusion of the existence of a Superior Being who presides over the wonders of Nature. “ You do not believe  
“ in all that, Doctor ; you physicians are above  
“ those weaknesses. Tell me, you who are  
“ so well acquainted with the human frame,  
“ who have searched it in all its turnings and

“windings, have you ever met with the soul  
“under your scalpel? Where does the soul  
“reside? in what organ?” I hesitated to answer. “Come, be sincere; there is not a physician that believes in God, is there?”—“No, Sire, they are seduced by the example; they imitate mathematicians.”—“How so? Mathematicians are in general religious . . . . . However, your recrimination reminds me of a singular expression used by one of them. I was conversing with L——; and, congratulating him upon a new work he had just published, I asked him how it happened that the name of God, so often used in the works of Lalande, had never once occurred in his. ‘It is,’ answered he, ‘because I have not found it necessary to have recourse to that hypothesis.’” I employed anecdote in my turn, and quoted Lalande and a few others; but he still persevered in his opinion: we were, generally speaking, Atheists; and moreover, as deficient in courage as in faith, we were frightened out of our wits as soon as the cannon began to roar; the sight of a field of battle disconcerted the most skilful of us, and it was only by dint of time and habit that we acquired the confidence necessary to enable us to

perform our operations. He had often thought how to obviate this disorder ; and he had wished that no medical man might be allowed to practise, or to solicit patronage or protection, until he had served in one or two campaigns. Had he known me, he would have obliged me also to pass first through that ordeal. This discussion led him to speak of some of his expeditions ; and he rendered ample justice to the services of the officers of the military surgical department, praised their zeal, their activity, and extolled the firmness and perseverance of which they had given proofs on several occasions, under circumstances of great difficulty. He had, it is true, always watched over and encouraged that department, and had even in some cases himself taken care to see the prescriptions duly followed. A fever committed great ravages amongst the troops that were besieging Mantua, and the exhausted soldiers sinking under the disease, refused the assistance of the medical men. The general hastened to the spot, threw bark into the casks of wine, and distributed this infusion with his own hand to the different corps as they defiled before him. The care and anxiety of their general revived the courage of the soldiers—they

submitted to the use of the medicine, and found themselves better. Still, it was only when this kind of contagion had entirely disappeared, that he ceased to watch in person over the health of the troops. In Egypt he had done more: every means calculated to prevent the occurrence of disease, or to limit its duration, had been inquired into, settled, and regulated by himself. Baths, cleanliness, and other measures conducive to health, were the constant subjects of his orders of the day. He had even determined the posts of Boulac, and the limits beyond which the convalescents were not to pass. "The gardens are spacious enough; there let them walk without going out of them, lest a popular commotion or a reverse should expose them to the dagger of the Turks." In Syria, the sick and the wounded were the unceasing objects of his solicitude. He caused hospitals to be established at Jaffa, Ramleh, Scheffamer; and nothing could equal his grief when he heard that a wretch had employed, on a private speculation, the camels appointed for the transport of medicines. He was going to have the guilty individual tried and shot; in short, there was no punishment sufficiently severe for so infamous an action: but the corps to which he



belonged would have been disgraced, without any relief being afforded to the brave wounded ; and he therefore spared the wretch's life, and dismissed him from the service. " St. Jean d'Acre received reinforcements ; we sustained losses, and were obliged to raise the siege of the place. The first thing to be done under these circumstances was to remove the wounded : on this occasion the anxiety of the General was particularly conspicuous."—But I am not relating what I have heard, I am quoting what I have read, and shall not stoop to discuss a base calumny.

" Camp before Acre, 22d Floreal, VIIth Year  
of the Republic, (11th May, 1799.)

" TO REAR-ADMIRAL PERREE.

" Rear-admiral Gantheaume will give you directions how to carry away four or five hundred wounded, whom I send to Tentoura, and whom it is absolutely necessary that you should transport to Alexandria and Damietta. Your zeal, your intelligence, and your nautical skill, will overcome every obstacle ; and you and your crews will acquire more glory by this action than from the most brilliant engagement. No cruise will ever have been so useful as yours,

and no frigates will have ever rendered a more essential service to the republic than those under your command."

" Camp before Acre, 27th Floreal, VIIth Year  
of the Republic, (16th May, 1799.)

" TO GENERAL DUGUA.

" You must have received the battalion of the 4th regiment of light infantry, which I despatched a fortnight ago, and which must have reached Cairo by this time.

" In three days I shall march to Cairo with the whole army; I am only delayed by the transport of the wounded, of whom I have six or seven hundred.

" I have carried the principal points within the outer enclosure of Acre, but we have not thought proper to persist in attacking the second inclosure, because it would have occasioned a loss of too much time and too many men.

" Djezzar received, two days ago, a reinforcement of five or six hundred men, and thirty large Greek vessels. This expedition was destined for Alexandria.

" Perree has taken two of those vessels, in which were gunners, bombardiers, miners, and several pieces of cannon.

**“ Adopt measures to render the navigation of Damietta secure, in order that the wounded may pass rapidly into the hospitals of Cairo.”**

**“ Camp before Acre, 27th Floreal, VIIth Year  
of the Republic, (16th May, 1799.)**

**“ TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL ALMEYRAS.**

**“ I am going to send as many wounded as I possibly can to Damietta: if the communications are open, pass them on immediately to Cairo, where they will find more comforts. The number will be about four or five hundred.**

**“ It will be necessary to have at Oum-Furedge a certain number of boats ready for the sick or wounded that may be with us.”**

**“ Camp before Acre, 27th Floreal, VIIth Year  
of the Republic, (16th May, 1799.)**

**“ TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL BOYER.**

**“ Send the wounded to Jaffa, or on board the frigates: the adjutant-general Leturcq, who is at Caïffa, will send you to-morrow a large convoy of them.**

**“ Make arrangements that on the morning of the 13th there be neither sick nor wounded at Tentoura. Two hundred wounded will be**

sent to-morrow to Tentoura, coming from Mount Carmel ; pass them on to Jaffa immediately.

“ Embark as much of the artillery, that has been sent to you at Jaffa, as you possibly can without inconveniencing the sick.

“ Let me have to-morrow night an exact statement of the prisoners sent away, and of those remaining.

“ Let the wounded be informed that the enemy has attempted a sortie, and has lost four hundred men, and had nine flags taken from him.”

“ Camp before Acre, 27th Floreal, VIIth Year  
of the Republic, (16th May, 1799.)

“ TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL LETURCQ.

“ To-morrow morning march four hundred wounded upon Tentoura. Adjutant-general Boyer informs me that he has this day sent four hundred by land, and one hundred and fifty by sea. You inform me that you only sent one hundred to-day ; it is therefore possible that the frigates might come in, and there be no wounded yet arrived for them to take—which would be unfortunate ; therefore lose not a moment.

**“ Let me have to-morrow, at twelve o’clock, a statement of the wounded at Caïffa and Mount Carmel. The sick must also be sent off, but separately.**

**“ On the evening of the 29th not a single sick or wounded must remain at Caïffa.”**

**“ TO GEN. BERTHIER, CHIEF OF THE STAFF.**

**“ Please to give immediate orders for the establishment of two hospitals in the village of Scheffamer; one for the wounded, the other for the sick with fever.**

**“ These two hospitals shall be established in the castle. To-morrow, at twelve o’clock, all the sick and wounded now in the moveable hospitals and in the camp hospital, and all the sick in the camp itself, will be sent to those hospitals.**

**“ A pharmacy will be established. A commissary, the head of the medical and that of the surgical department, and the director of hospitals, will immediately repair to the village of Scheffamer, in order to organize the said hospitals.**

**“ The captain of the dromedaries to be appointed commandant of the village. Its garrison will be composed of the third battalion of the**

18th, with the exception of the company of grenadiers.

“ TO THE COMMISSARY-IN-CHIEF DAURE.

“ I have just visited the hospital, and I find that boilers and vessels for washing the wounds are wanting.

“ The wounded only require barley and honey, to make water-gruel, and there is none. These unfortunate beings, who possess so many claims on our compassion, are suffering, whilst barley and honey are every day sold in the camp.

“ I desire that you will, as speedily as possible, purchase barley, honey, and utensils, which are easily procured in the mountains.

“ Lint and linen will also soon be wanting; order precautionary measures to be taken on that head.”

I shall quote another document : the date on, the place in, and the circumstances under which it was written, render it one of great value. At this distance, painful recollections are not cherished—still less revived. I allude to the instructions given to the Duke of Treviso, when Napoleon evacuated Moscow. I have extracted them

from the Memoirs of one of his aides-de-camp,\* who, having made the campaign of Egypt, must have been fully acquainted with the particularities of the anecdote to which allusion is made by the Emperor in those instructions.

We passed our time in gardening and conversing : natural history, medicine, war, politics, every thing that fell under the observation, or occurred to the memory of the Emperor, became in turn the subject of our discussions. But if the conversation suggested any circumstance that recalled to his mind either the Empress or his son, he immediately abandoned every other subject, to talk exclusively of the amiable qualities of the one, and the destiny of the other. ‘What a forlorn state ! What misfortunes !’ But he had his father’s name, and he would possess his father’s courage ; he would not suffer that inheritance to depart from him : and passing abruptly to Maria Louisa, as if he feared to contemplate the future prospects of the child, he expatiated in the highest terms on her goodness, her sweetness of disposition, and the unalterable affection she bore him. He

\* General Count Rapp.—See the document in question at page 222 to 225 of his Memoirs.

fully repaid that affection; and he, perhaps, owed his ruin to it. Had he loved her less, he should not have written the fatal letter which fell into the hands of the Allies. He would probably have been followed, and victorious; and France would have been saved. Fate decided otherwise: he abdicated, and the Empress was obliged to retire to Vienna. The repeated shocks she had been exposed to produced their effect, the health of that princess became deranged, and the physicians advised her to drink the waters of Aix, whither she accordingly went. F——, who was also there for the same purpose, immediately took the alarm. Maria Louisa was accompanied by Madame de Brignolles, Corvisart, and Isabey; and Talma had also made his appearance. It was clear, therefore, that a conspiracy existed, and that the throne was in danger; and no time ought to be lost in resorting to every means calculated to defeat the plot. He wrote, begged, denounced, and stimulated the exertions of both civil and military authorities. To the former he applied for their spies; to the latter to their *gendarmes*: every step of the Empress was to him a subject of terror. She, however, lived in the simplest manner possible; walking, mixing with



the crowd, and only busying herself about the fine sites and prospects the country offered, climbing the mountains to obtain a sight of them, with the activity natural to her ; but she listened to the recital of lines recalling our exploits ; she cherished the name of her husband, she adored her son : all that was quite enough to prevent F———— and the Duke of C———— from closing their eyes. Another circumstance tended to increase their fears. She had received some of our soldiers under her protection, and collected in that manner about twelve or fifteen hundred men : she was going to conquer France. Lacronier endeavoured to avert this dire misfortune : he had some troops and an orderly officer, and he attempted to close the passage of St. Jeoire against the Austrian couriers ; but Neiperg, incensed at the affront, threatened : the *gendarmes* dared not proceed to further extremities, and poor F———— remained a prey to his anxiety. That anxiety was sufficiently ridiculous : men, circumstances, events, every thing gave him umbrage ; and he was quite in despair, on observing that the heart of Maria Louisa continued devoted to the interest of Napoleon. But the measure of his anguish was filled, when he saw that the departure of

the Empress, which had been fixed for the first of September, did not take place. This unexpected delay nearly turned his brain; he could think of nothing but disasters, flight, and insurrections. It was evident this departure had been retarded by instructions from the island of Elba; not the shadow of a doubt could be entertained on that subject. Poor A——, beset on all sides by these fears, yielded at last to a sentiment he himself had never known. True it is, that he was also guided by some motives of his own, and that he had grown old. This circumstance, however, had the effect of restoring to him the activity of his youth; spies, despatches—he found time to attend to every thing. He sent to reconnoitre Italy, and sought to rally the nation round its sovereign—and what is more, its *legitimate* sovereign!

“ Do you know to what measure he thought of  
“ having recourse in order to obtain this great  
“ result? — to a coronation. On the same  
“ day, and at the same hour, troops, public  
“ functionaries, the whole population of France,  
“ were to repair to their temples, there to pro-  
“ claim, what?—their gratitude! Assuredly  
“ there were ample reasons for feeling the most  
“ lively gratitude! but was it for the hero of

“ ——— to come forward as the capuchin of that  
“ party ? Ought a man to be thus false to his  
“ own glory ? ought he, on the verge of existence,  
“ to tarnish his own fame ? But time wears out  
“ every thing—even personal dignity.”

Whilst the Emperor was speaking thus he perceived Reade. “ As to that man,” said he, “ he is beyond the reach of time ; I defy it to “ make him baser than he is : he is like the “ steel that blunts the edge of the file ; he was “ worthy of being yoked with our Calabrian.”— “ You flatter him, Sire ; for his productions are very indifferent, whereas Sir Hudson’s poetry is delightful.”—“ What ! is this spy a poet ?”— “ Yes, Sire ; he writes Latin verse with the same elegance as French. He is the Tyrtæus of the *Col-di-Tende* !—judge. You had baffled British sagacity, taken Malta and Alexandria, and threatened the establishments of England on the Red Sea : she was trembling for her trade, and was arming at Bombay, at Gibraltar, at Calcutta, and Admiral Blancket had sailed to go and excite the Arabs to revolt. All these precautions were, however, insufficient to calm the apprehensions of England : she felt that to arrest your progress it was necessary to fire the whole world, and she went about Europe

begging for war; but finding that your name chilled every courage, she imagined to spread a report of your death. Lowe put the news into verse, and had it stuck up in Italy. The *morceau* ran thus:

“ ‘ Bonaparte a été pris à Alexandrie ;  
Il a perdu sa funeste vie.  
François, tremblez !  
Vous serez guillotiné. ’ ”

“ For guillotined, read \* \* \* \* \* ;  
“ every one must speak his own language: but  
“ is that all ? ” — “ No, Sire ; and here is something better :

“ ‘ Anglorum rursus virtutem sentit ; fur, cave !  
Jam enim furum dux Bonapars cecidit ! ’ ”

“ So much for his poetry ! but what do you  
“ know about his exploits ? ” — “ Very little,  
Sire ; affairs of that kind were out of the circle  
of my pursuits, and I did not listen to them with  
any great degree of attention ; however, as I  
was very much in the world at Florence, and as  
my profession gave me access to every family,  
I could not but collect numberless valuable details.  
One spoke of the intention of the King  
of Sardinia to exasperate the French, in order

to obtain the crown of martyrdom ; another exposed the plans of the ministers of his government, and the hopes they built upon the *franc-chasseurs*. The army commanded by Brune had been on the point of being completely destroyed. Every prince was to feign the existence of insurrections in his dominions, to stimulate alarms, and apply for assistance ; and when our forces would have been scattered by these means, Austria was to march, the people to fly to arms, and our army, to the last man, was to be sacrificed. Arms, ammunition, and men, had been procured : every thing was arranged, when a lady of the court felt some scruples which she confided to her confessor ; the confessor betrayed ministers, put Brune on his guard, and the plot failed. I learnt in the same way the intrigues which had for such a length of time disturbed Liguria, agitated the Cisalpine States, and fired Bologna. The object of Beccalozzi was, to be bought by the aristocracy ; Lahoz had his own views ; Feneroli cherished his own chimera : every one intrigued, and entertained the most culpable hopes. Sommariva carried on a secret correspondence in Lucca ; Porro excited the disaffected of Genoa ; Zorti those of Oneglia : at the moment

when a man thought himself secure of his existence, new wars sprang up, and conquests were meditated. The presence of our troops checked the views of the ambitious, and they, therefore, disposed their measures in consequence; they threw difficulties in the way of the service, excited the population, encouraged every excess; nothing was seen or heard of but insurrections, assassinations and disasters, and we were repulsed to the Col-di-Tende. Our enemies, seeing that we had experienced reverses, thought it advisable to endeavour to stir up the South to revolt and murder. England dispatched Lowe for that purpose: he crept like a malefactor on the mountains occupied by our troops, organized a few obscure plots, and hastily fled when he heard of your victories."

Dec. 17th.—The Emperor had now enjoyed upwards of a month of uninterrupted health. His strength had returned; the digestive organs had resumed their functions; every thing seemed to wear a favourable aspect, when suddenly the disorder again manifested itself, and with increased violence. Acute pains of cholic—almost intolerable pain in the liver—every symptom of an inflammation in the bowels.—

Ordered bathing, simple and emollient enemas, fomentations of the same nature on the abdomen, and castor-oil.

18th.—The pains in the bowels were to-day less violent, without, however, ceasing altogether, or allowing the patient to repose a single instant. A dry and painful cough came on at daybreak; but the use of anodynes diminished its intensity.—Bath.

19th.—The latter part of the day, yesterday, the Emperor was tolerably calm. The pains in the bowels recommenced again in the night, but with less force and frequency; the pain in the liver had entirely disappeared.

20th.—The Emperor better to-day. He had some sleep, and took a bath in the evening.

21st.—Napoleon much better than yesterday. He took a little walk, came in, and had a bath.

I had been out rambling, agreeably to my custom, and had strayed a few minutes in the park; and as I came into the house, the Emperor had just come out of his bath. “I thought,” said he, “that you were engaged, entertaining a party of the English physicians: have they not been exact to the ap-

“pointed time?”—“No, Sire: they had each separately appeared flattered by the invitation, and accepted it with pleasure; but suddenly altering their mind, they have since sent an excuse. I know not whether the hand that kept them back be not the same that has just caused me to be arrested.”—“Arrested!”—“Yes, Sire. I was quietly returning to my hut, when the sentry refused to allow me to pass, and I have been taken to the guard-house. It is that which has made me late.” The Emperor dropped the conversation; I did not dwell upon it, and retired. But these vexations assumed a character of personality; I was again arrested and insulted a few days afterwards. Napoleon would no longer allow me to endure this treatment. “Write to the “Calabrian,” said he; “let him know the contempt that his base malice inspires you with; “tell him that you will leave St. Helena, if he “persists in this line of conduct. I shall not “suffer you to be denied the liberty of breathing the open air—to be exposed to die under “my eyes.” I was highly incensed, and had soon written the following letter:—



“ Longwood, 22d December, 1819.

“ EXCELLENCY,

“ I hope you will excuse me if my importunity interrupts your occupations, to call your attention to some circumstances that affect me personally. Last night, about seven o'clock, as I was returning from a walk in the park, I was stopped by the sentry placed near the garden-gate; and having been, during half an hour, prevented from going to my dwelling, which was not two hundred yards distant from the spot where I was thus detained, I only at last recovered my liberty by the interference of the sergeant of the guard of Longwood, the orderly captain being then absent. In the evening of the 19th instant, as I also returned from my usual walk, I had already been stopped in a similar manner by a sentry placed on the same spot; but who, much less rigorous than his comrade of yesterday evening, suffered me to repair to my habitation after a detention of a few minutes only. Thus, during the short space of three months that I have resided in the island, I have been three times arrested. Such proceedings appear to me in direct opposition with the reiterated proofs and assurances your Excellency has kindly given me of your

favourable disposition towards me; and they assuredly are opposed to the rules of conduct laid down for the government of St. Helena—rules which were officially communicated to me previously to my departure from Europe, and in the propriety of which I did not hesitate to believe, since the persons confined here are not criminals. I, however, find myself shut up in my habitation, as in a cloister, and unless I am accompanied by one of your subordinate officers, I can neither see nor attend any body beyond the limits fixed by yourself: I am, moreover, perfectly well received in private by my colleagues in my profession; but in public I am shunned, and even rejected by them. I am willing to believe, that this kind of shyness only proceeds from the deep impression of terror made on the minds of the inhabitants of this island; nevertheless, my situation is most painful and difficult to be borne; and but for the motive which induced me to come here,—but for the treatment which I have already successfully employed against the endemic chronic hepatitis under which the Emperor Napoleon has long been labouring in this variable and dangerous climate, I do not hesitate to say, that I should

have already requested your Excellency's permission to return to my native land.

“ Allow me, at least, to request you will take into consideration the true state of affairs ; the heat of the season, the power of the sun, which darts its rays almost perpendicularly upon our heads, the effects of which, as prompt as they are fatal, are probably not unknown to your Excellency.

“ Let me further beg of you to recollect the unhealthy climate we inhabit, and to spare me the unpleasantness of being arrested during the only hours at which, at this time of the year, it is possible to walk out and breathe, at least in the park, a pure air, or rather an air less injurious ; as I have already been, on two separate occasions, violently attacked with colics, which have confined me several days together to my bed, and have been attended with some danger.

“ Lastly, I entreat your Excellency to grant us that degree of liberty which is not denied to all honest men—to all men who cannot be accused of even the shadow of crime ; if, indeed, there exist the possibility of liberty in this island.

“ Excuse the liberty I have taken of occupy-

ing so much of your time, to inform you of the difficulties under which I am labouring in the exercise of my profession.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your Excellency’s most humble

“ and most obedient Servant,

“ F. ANTOMMARCHI.”

“ Very well,” said the Emperor, “ now write  
“ also to Hamilton. That minister has bestowed  
“ praises on your work : he feels an interest  
“ for you ; it is not possible that he should  
“ suffer this \* \* \* \* \* to deny you even the  
“ liberty of going to breathe a little air under  
“ a leafless tree.”

I followed the Emperor’s advice, and wrote.

“ Longwood, 23d Dec. 1819.

“ SIR,

“ Three months have elapsed since my arrival in this island, which I had the honour of announcing to you in another letter. Allow me to avail myself of the kind dispositions you have manifested in my favour, to inform you of the situation in which I find myself, in a place to which I have come of my own accord.

“ I begin by confessing frankly, that I can-

not conceive why attempts are made to oblige me to consider my condition in the light of that of a monk, a hermit, or a slave, since habits long since acquired render me totally unfit to fulfil the duties which such conditions might impose upon me.

“ I find myself in the middle of the ocean, in an almost uninhabitable island, and deprived of every kind of liberty : what more have I to fear ? . . . . Such, however, is my situation, that, although all my time is devoted to study, and to the relief of suffering humanity in this island, which nature seems to have stamped with a deep impression of melancholy and reprobation, I see all its inhabitants shun the neighbourhood of Longwood with as much dread as, in eternity, they might fly from the approach to Hell. This terror seems to have taken possession of their minds, to the total exclusion of every other feeling. My colleagues in my profession share the general alarm : they seem to tremble at my aspect ; and, instead of a return of the polite manner in which I am in the habit of behaving towards them, I only experience from them rough deportment and refusals. Nor can I well blame them, since they could not possibly

come near me, or say a single word to me, without the certainty that the local authorities would immediately be informed of it. Telescopes, pointed towards our habitations, pry even into our apartments ; and telegraphs, very dexterously contrived, instantly convey a report of every thing that takes place in them. If I wish to stray beyond the narrow limits to which we are circumscribed, I am obliged to accept the company of an agent of the Governor, who is ordered to give him a faithful account of every thing I may do or say in his presence ; so that, in order to escape from the danger of his communications, I find myself under the necessity of foregoing every kind of relation or social intercourse. This is not all : after half-past six in the afternoon, I am no longer allowed to walk even in the park near my residence ; and what is worse, the inhabitants of Longwood, who happen to be out after that hour, are not at liberty to return home, as it has already happened to me three times. Is it possible to conceive a measure more absurd, and tyrannical at the same time, particularly in this burning climate ?

“ As soon as it is half-past six in the evening, the limits of Longwood, which comprise

a circle of about thirty *toises*\* in circumference, are surrounded by a great number of sentries; whose express orders are, not to allow any person either to go in or come out, and to stop every one that appears. At nine these sentries narrow the circle they form, and are placed so near our habitations, that I cannot leave my apartment to go to my laboratory, to Count Bertrand's, or even to the stables, without being exposed to receive a thrust of a bayonet from not knowing how to answer properly to the challenge of the soldiers, addressed to me in a language in which I am not yet conversant. In the evening, or at night, when the duties of my situation require my attendance on the Emperor, as the local distribution of Longwood does not admit of my going through his apartments, I am obliged to pass before I know not how many sentries, who look at me, watch me, and do not lose sight of me, until I have reached my destination.

“ Such is the faithful account of my horrible situation; and unless your kind mediation with Lord Bathurst should succeed in obtaining for me a sufficient degree of liberty, to enable me at least to acquire some scientific notions rela-

\* A *toise* measures about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  English feet.

tive to this dismal rock, I know not whether my resignation will be able to bear, for a greater length of time, the excess of violence to which it is exposed: but I am full of confidence in your powerful protection; and I presume to hope, that your generous interference will have the effect of rendering my residence on this island less melancholy and less unpleasant.

“Accept the sincere assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honour to be,

“Your Excellency’s

“Most humble and most devoted

“Servant,

“F. ANTOMMARCHI.”

I complained, unable to do any thing better, and his Excellency cared little about my complaints; but the Minister had shown himself kindly disposed in my favour, and I applied to him: this gave a more serious turn to the case. The limits were, therefore, widened, and I could henceforth breathe and circulate freely, and had no longer to fear being taken to the guard-room, or wounded by a thrust of a bayonet. And this was not all: Hudson added advice



to liberty, and addressed me a lecture, which I really deserved.—I constantly repeated a name which he could not hear ; I always spoke of the *Emperor* : I should oblige him to refuse receiving my letters, and, consequently, to deprive himself of the pleasure of corresponding with me . . . This solicitude was most affecting no doubt, but was very ill-bestowed.

We had made our arrangements to dig a basin. The Emperor was dressed in a large pair of trousers and a jacket, with an enormous hat, made of straw of Bengal, on his head, and a kind of sandal to his feet. I therefore left this stuff without an answer, and followed him, as he proceeded towards a party of Chinese, whom he had sent for, to assist us in the completion of our labours. We saw them examining us, laughing, and becoming less noisy, as we advanced nearer to them. “ What is the matter with them ? what amuses them ? ” “ It is, perhaps, my dress ? ” — “ Probably, Sire, they are surprised to see you dressed as a workman, like themselves.” — We had joined them ; and they set to work, and continued working for some time, until at last mirth prevailed, and became so general that it reached the Emperor himself. — “ What is it ? what do they

“say?”—Not one of us understood the Chinese; so that we were unable to answer him. “It must be my costume that causes their mirth; and it is, indeed, odd enough. But with all their laughing they must not be burnt up by the heat: every one of them shall also have a straw-hat, as a present from me.”

The Emperor left us, and bent his steps towards a clump of trees. We thought he had gone for the purpose of seeking a little fresh air, when we saw him on horseback, followed by his *piqueur*. He rode up and down for a few minutes, and then, starting suddenly, he galloped to Deadwood. Having reached the summit of the mountain, he stopped, pointed his glass, looked round him, and came back as swiftly as he had gone. This simple excursion immediately became an affair of state. A horseman had been seen, dressed like a Chinese: How had he made his appearance? whence did he come? what was his business? The Governor could not possibly make it out. The Emperor, who was highly amused by his fears, took it into his head to increase them. For that purpose he made Vignali put on a dress similar to his own, gave him his horse, his

*piqueur*, and his glass, ordering him to ride fast, and appear to be making observations. The missionary went, was seen and noticed, and the tranquillity of the whole island was immediately disturbed. Signals were made; Hudson, Gorrequer, Reade—all instantly turned out, and proceeded to Longwood. This was a conspiracy—an attempt to carry off somebody . . . it was . . . Vignali in disguise. The Governor confused, withdrew. I met him as he was going away : he came up to me, gave vent to his anger, and ended by declaring, that the individual who thus laughed at his expense was only an usurper. — “ No doubt !” was my reply. The tone of simplicity with which it was pronounced deceived Sir Hudson : his eye assumed an expression of benevolence towards me, as he continued to rave and swear, ending once more by the astounding statement, that he was an usurper, and that I could not deny the fact.— “ Certainly not,” answered I ; “ it is a fact of which I feel too much ashamed to attempt to dispute its existence.” His Excellency, surprised at this concession on my part, now became quite gracious, and invited me to speak without reserve. I immediately obeyed. “ The Emperor,” said I, “ (for by calling him General

you acquit him of one of his usurpations, and I wish to reckon them all,) is loaded with the crime of which you accuse him. At Toulon, he usurped the victory, and wickedly snatched the torch from the hands of your Eratostratus; he usurped it again at Montenotte, Castiglione, Lodi, and on the Tagliamento: he usurped our admiration by the rapidity of his triumphs; by revenging, under the walls of *Pavia*, the affront sustained by Francis the First; by his famous retreat, when, sacrificing his hopes and his artillery, he raised the siege of Mantua, marched, beat the enemy, and taught him that a surprise, an advantage, are often only the forerunners of a defeat: he usurped it again, when, left to himself, deprived of fleets and transports, he carried on the war in the midst of the deserts, opened canals, searched the sands, and cultivated, as he fought, all the arts of peace." I was going to continue this catalogue of usurpations; but I had the awkwardness to mention the manner in which some emigrants had been cut to pieces at Quiberon, and some Russians at the Helder: his Excellency would hear no more.

I returned to the Chinese, whom the Emperor was exciting to work. "Well! what did

“ Hudson say to you? Is he afraid that I  
“ shall some day get wings and fly away, and  
“ escape the grave?”—“ I know not, Sire: I  
was relating to him how you had usurped vic-  
tory and public admiration; the sketch dis-  
pleased him, and he retired.” Napoleon was  
very much amused at this new misadventure;  
he laughed, pitied Hudson, and thought he had  
been too much teased for one day. By de-  
grees the Emperor turned the conversation  
upon the events I had been endeavouring to  
recapitulate to Lowe, repeated some anecdotes  
connected therewith, bestowed praise on some,  
related honourable actions of others. “ Auge-  
“ reau was skilful and courageous; he was be-  
“ loved by the soldiers, and fortunate in his  
“ operations.—Joubert had the genius of war.—  
“ Massena was endowed with a degree of dar-  
“ ing confidence and a quickness of conception  
“ which I have never seen equalled; but he  
“ was covetous of glory, and would not suffer  
“ himself to be deprived of the praises he  
“ thought he had deserved. The bulletins  
“ were hastily drawn up; they were intended  
“ to satisfy the curiosity of the idle, and some-  
“ times did not give to every one his due  
“ share of applause. He thought his services

“ before Mantua had not been properly appre-  
“ ciated, and he expostulated, and wrote to me  
“ on the subject. ‘ I have read,’ said he, ‘ your  
“ account of the battle of St. George, and of  
“ the affair of Cerea; and have observed, with  
“ the utmost surprise, that you bestow praises  
“ upon some generals who, far from having  
“ contributed to the success of that brilliant  
“ day, have nearly caused the destruction of  
“ my division destined to the attack of La Fa-  
“ vorite, and that you do not say a single word  
“ about me or Rampon. I have also reason to  
“ complain of your reports of the affairs of  
“ Lonado and Roveredo, in which you do not  
“ render to me the justice I deserve.

“ ‘ These omissions wound my feelings, and  
“ quite dishearten me; and I shall therefore  
“ recal to mind, since I am forced to it, that  
“ the gaining of the battle of St. George is due  
“ to my military dispositions, to my activity,  
“ coolness, and foresight.

“ ‘ Through the fault of General Sahuguet,  
“ who had not attacked La Favorite, as your  
“ orders directed, considerable numbers of the  
“ enemy had thrown themselves between St.  
“ George and La Favorite; and but for the  
“ order I gave to the intrepid General Rampon,

“ to advance on my right and attack the ene-  
“ my, my division would have been outflanked,  
“ and the day lost. The brave 32d had to  
“ maintain a most obstinate combat during four  
“ hours, and yet you say not a word either of  
“ myself or Rampon, who have both acted the  
“ principal parts in that memorable day.

“ ‘ Chabran, alone, marched at the head of  
“ the grenadiers ; he remained there during the  
“ whole action : Marmont and Leclerc only  
“ came up in the midst of the conflict. I have  
“ undoubtedly every reason to be satisfied with  
“ the manner in which they behaved ; but their  
“ conduct ought not to make us forget what is  
“ due to Chabran, an officer as intelligent as he  
“ is brave, and whom I have long since asked  
“ you in vain to promote to the rank of briga-  
“ dier-general.

“ ‘ My letter is written with my accustomed  
“ candour and loyalty ; and I flatter myself that  
“ by opening my heart to you, I shall induce  
“ you to render justice to myself, and to several  
“ officers of my staff.’

“ —Laharpe was a man of the same cast : se-  
“ vere, independent ; prodigal of his life in the  
“ field of battle, but jealous of his share in  
“ the victory. He perished by one of those

“ accidents so common during a war. He was  
“ returning from reconnoitring; the night was  
“ dark and tempestuous, he did not answer  
“ the challenge of the sentry, and fell a vic-  
“ tim to his zeal. He was a Swiss of the  
“ Canton of Berne, a warm partizan of the new  
“ order of things, and having been obliged to  
“ fly, his property had been confiscated. I had  
“ the satisfaction of causing it to be restored  
“ to his son. The Swiss were in want of grain,  
“ and applied for permission to purchase some  
“ in Italy; I granted it, but on condition that  
“ the confiscation should be revoked; and I or-  
“ dered Barthelemy, our ambassador at Bâle,  
“ to see it done.

“ I had more trouble with an aide-de-camp  
“ of mine, the brave Colonel Muiron, who was  
“ killed at Arcole. He had served from the  
“ very beginning of the Revolution in the corps  
“ of artillery, and had particularly distinguish-  
“ ed himself at the siege of Toulon, where he  
“ had been wounded as he entered through an  
“ embrasure into the celebrated English re-  
“ doubt.

“ His father had been arrested on account of  
“ his being a *fermier-général*. Colonel Muiron  
“ presented himself before the Convention and



“ the Revolutionary Committee of his section,  
“ covered with the blood he had just shed in  
“ defence of his country, and succeeded in ob-  
“ taining his father’s liberation.

“ On the occasion of the 13th Vendemiaire,  
“ Muiron commanded one of the divisions of  
“ artillery which defended the Convention, not-  
“ withstanding the entreaties of a great num-  
“ ber of his acquaintances, and of the persons  
“ composing his society. I asked him whether  
“ the Government might rely upon him. — ‘ Yes,’  
“ answered he, ‘ I have sworn to maintain the  
“ Republic ; I belong to the armed force, and  
“ shall obey by obeying my chiefs. I am, be-  
“ sides, by principle, an enemy to all Revolu-  
“ tionists ; and quite as much to those who only  
“ adopt their maxims and proceedings, in order  
“ to re-establish the throne, as to those who  
“ would bring back that cruel system under  
“ which my father and my family have so long  
“ suffered.’ And, in fact, he behaved very  
“ gallantly, and was extremely useful in that  
“ engagement which saved liberty.

“ I had selected him to be my aide-de-camp  
“ at the commencement of the campaign of  
“ Italy. He rendered most essential services

“ in almost every action, and died gloriously  
“ at last, on the field of battle, at Arcole, leav-  
“ ing a young widow eight months gone with  
“ child.

“ In consideration of the services he had  
“ rendered in the different campaigns of this  
“ war, I asked that the name of his mother-  
“ in-law should be erased from the list of emi-  
“ grants, on which it had been inscribed,  
“ although she had never left France; and I  
“ claimed the same act of justice in favour of  
“ his brother-in-law, whose name had been re-  
“ gistered in the fatal list, when he was only  
“ fourteen years old, whilst abroad for his edu-  
“ cation.”

From the men who had contributed to his victories, the Emperor passed to the consideration of the movements and combinations which had decided them. These form a series of conceptions, manœuvres, and proofs of intrepidity, of which no other example is to be found in the annals of history. In three years he had conquered all the northern part of Italy; opposed, with about thirty or forty thousand men, the greatest efforts of Austria; and made six campaigns.

## FIRST CAMPAIGN.

Bonaparte draws General Beaulieu under the walls of Genoa, attacks him on his flanks, outflanks his right, defeats him at Montenotte, marches alternately to Dego and Mondovi, drives Beaulieu to Milan, Colli, Turin; reduces the King of Sardinia to submit, passes the bridge of Lodi, takes possession of Lombardy, crosses the Mincio, besieges Mantua, and in less than two months, from the mountains of Genoa, plants his flag on those of Tyrol, traverses Illyria, and appears on the confines of Germany.

The impression of surprise produced all over Europe by these brilliant achievements is not yet forgotten. The parties in France, and our enemies abroad, described this general, twenty-six years old, as a rash-headed young man, whose very presumption would cause his ruin and confusion. Subsequent events shewed what reliance was to be placed on their predictions.

## SECOND CAMPAIGN.

The first effect of these signal advantages was to oblige Wurmser to evacuate Alsatia, and

cross the Rhine with forty thousand men to come to the assistance of Tyrol. This general arrives on the Adige with eighty thousand men, takes Montebaldo, penetrates through the valley of Sabia, and reaches Verona and Brescia at the same time. To this new and formidable enemy we could only oppose thirty thousand men; having to preserve our conquests, and to besiege Mantua, which was on the point of surrendering, though it contained a garrison of upwards of eight thousand men. In this second campaign it is that Bonaparte shews himself superior to Frederick, who had been in a similar situation. He does not obstinately persist in the siege of Mantua, as the King of Prussia had done with that of Prague; but supplying the inferiority of his numbers by the resources of his great genius, and the celerity of his movements, his resolutions and his operations follow each other with the same rapidity, and entirely disconcert the enemy, who never could find the French army, at daybreak, where he had left it at the beginning of the night. These bold and beautiful conceptions were crowned by the battles of Lonato and Castiglione; and Wurmser, defeated in spite of his numerous ca-

valry, returned to the passes of Tyrol, leaving great part of his army in the hands of the French.

In all these movements, which will present matter for useful meditation to those who follow the career of arms, Bonaparte shewed that very often the best means of defence consists in attacking; and that the art of conducting a war on a large scale lies chiefly in being able to regain the liberty of option, when it has been lost by the first success of the enemy.

His reputation was now established all over Europe; all the French generals acknowledged him as their master, and the old companions of Frederick, from that moment, proclaimed him to be the hero worthy of bearing the sceptre of war, unappropriated since Frederick's death.

### THIRD CAMPAIGN.

Bonaparte had conquered; but, having had to contend with the greatest difficulties, he preserved a lively feeling of resentment. He recollected that Wurmser had more than once occupied his head-quarters, and he did not consider himself sufficiently avenged by the destruction of his plans and of part of his army.

He heard that that general had received reinforcements, and had marched from Tyrol on the Brenta. Bonaparte immediately proceeded up the Adige towards Roveredo, defeated half the Austrian army, advanced towards Lavis, made a feint to march on Inspruck, and suddenly extended his operations along the Brenta. The dispositions of the Austrians were useless—he triumphed over every obstacle.

Bonaparte attacked and defeated the enemy, pursued him closely, and drove him on the Adige, which he crossed before him. Wurmser was on the point of laying down his arms, but one of those chances which baffle all calculations enabled him to effect his retreat, and he went and shut himself up in Mantua, with ten thousand cavalry, several regiments of cuirassiers, his staff and baggage.

The execution of these movements was so rapid, and the defeat so complete, that Austria was not apprised of these disasters, until she heard by public report that she no longer had an army of Italy, that her frontiers were quite unprotected, and her general shut up in the only place that remained in his possession.

It is easy to observe that in these bold manœuvres Bonaparte had not left any thing

to chance; and although his marches at first view excite surprise, it is soon perceived that a retreat is secured, and the measures to be adopted in case of a reverse decided upon. Military men will notice, with a deep interest, the numerous and frequent points of resemblance between this campaign and that of the army of reserve. In both they will find Bonaparte manœuvring upon the enemy's line of operations, placing himself between the enemy's troops and his magazines, intercepting his retreat, and deciding at one blow the fate of a whole army.

#### FOURTH CAMPAIGN.

It will be easily conceived how much the Court of Vienna must have felt irritated by these repeated reverses. Austria was aware that Bonaparte had only a handful of men, and she resolved to try her utmost to liberate her blockaded Field-marshal and save Mantua. Alvinzi was sent for that purpose at the head of a formidable army. Fifty thousand men marched through Friuli, and twenty thousand through Tyrol. We could not oppose so great a force, and finding it impossible to

resist, or to preserve a range of country so extensive, the French general only endeavoured at first to check the movements of the enemy by various corps of observation which he posted on the Brenta. Alvinzi forced these corps, passed the Piava, and Bonaparte was obliged to evacuate the whole tract of country comprised between the Brenta and the Adige. At Caldero he endeavoured to resume the offensive, but his efforts were unsuccessful; and he besides received information that some of the enemy's divisions occupied the right bank of the river, and had already reached Rivoli.

Italy now appeared irretrievably lost, and the raising of the siege of Mantua inevitable. The army was mustered at Verona, and was found to consist of only fifteen thousand men capable of bearing arms. These defiled in the dark of the evening; and every one thought we were continuing to effect our retreat, but this was not the case. The troops were ordered to move on the Adige, which they crossed at two o'clock in the morning, and Bonaparte gave the celebrated battle of Arcole. Although the chief object he had in view had failed from the commencement of the action, this skilful manœuvre procured him the advantage of forcing the



enemy to evacuate the fine position of Caldero, and driving him amongst the marshes, where he was compelled to fight upon the dykes; by which means the advantage of the superiority of his numbers was greatly diminished. His divisions, beaten one after the other, and discouraged, fled from the field of battle, and threw themselves in disorder behind the Brenta.

Bonaparte having constantly rallied victory round our standard, the public, who frequently judge only by results, have perhaps thought that all his plans had constantly been successful. Such a supposition would be very erroneous: the best-concerted measures have often turned against him; but nobody was more prompt or more skilful in substituting others in place of those that had failed, and in obliging fortune again to become favourable.

#### FIFTH CAMPAIGN.

In this fifth campaign were fought the battles of Rivoli and La Favorite, which led to the possession of Mantua. The first of these battles was more glorious for our army than that of Marengo, since, with eighteen thousand men, we defeated forty thousand, of which twenty

thousand were taken prisoners. With such an inferiority of numbers, and on a field of battle of only five square leagues, it was particularly in this action that the chief of the army displayed the great art of shewing his superiority on every point of attack. He could not, on a surface of only seven or eight leagues. or in an interval of thirty-six or forty-eight hours, out-march the Austrian columns; but he defeated them one after the other, although they were only distant from each other a few hundred *toises*. The issue of these brilliant affairs of Rivoli and La Favorite was the consequence of a perfect knowledge of the field of battle, of a rare sagacity in penetrating the plans of the enemy, and of an unequalled degree of promptitude in devising the means of counteracting them.

At Rivoli, the division of the enemy selected to turn the French army arrived accordingly at the position it was directed to take; but it only arrived after the other divisions had been defeated, and was surrounded and reduced to lay down its arms.

#### SIXTH CAMPAIGN.

Master of Mantua, Bonaparte marched on Rome, taking with him only five thousand men.

and signed the treaty of Tolentino, whilst Europe still thought him beyond the Appenines. Disregarding the vain glory of making a triumphal entry in the Capitol, he loses not a moment, joins his army once more on the Piava, and commences his sixth campaign.

In this campaign, after having, in less than two months, defeated the Archduke Charles on the Tagliamento, on the Isonzo, and at Tarvis; after having crossed the Julian Alps, the Draave, the Saave, and the Muehr, he obliges the House of Austria to conclude a peace. He was master of Trieste, of Istria, Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, and of a great part of Austria: he was in a situation to cause the voice of humanity to be listened to.

Our troops had penetrated to the gates of Vienna. Bellegarde and Merfeldt hastened to his head-quarters, to implore him to grant a suspension of arms. Bonaparte consented; and as they were discussing the limits of the corps of Generals Bernadotte and Joubert, "Where do you think, gentlemen," said he, "that Bernadotte is?"—"Perhaps at Fiume?"—"No; he is in my drawing-room, and his division is half-a-mile from here. And Joubert, where do you suppose him to be?"—"Perhaps at

Inspruck, if indeed he has been able to oppose the column of grenadiers that is marching from the army of the Rhine?"—"Well, he is also in my drawing-room, and his troops are marching after him."

These two answers surprised the Austrians; and the more so, as their general had just sent considerable detachments to defend the provinces of Carniola and Tyrol, through which he thought Generals Bernadotte and Joubert were to pass. Thus, whilst the enemy was dividing his forces, Bonaparte had concentrated in a space of about six square leagues the whole of his troops, amounting to forty-six thousand men.

#### CAMPAIGNS OF EGYPT AND SYRIA.

Shortly after peace had been concluded, Bonaparte sailed for Egypt. He appeared before Malta; and the influence of his name, the confidence inspired by his intervention, and the vigour of his attack, disconcerted the enemy, who surrendered the place, which had never before been taken.

Having landed in Egypt, he at once perceives what kind of warfare is adapted to the country, estimates the value of the troops by which it is

defended, and prepares the tactics the most proper to be adopted.

The battle of the Pyramids, at the gates of Cairo; that of Mount Thabor, in the heart of Syria; and that of Aboukir,—are all three of a different character of conception. He manœuvres with unequalled skill, and applies to circumstances, as new as they are varied, all the resources of the art of war.

Whilst these events were passing in Egypt, our armies were beaten at Stokach and on the Adige. We had conquered at Zurich, but Italy was lost to us; and our armies, discouraged, and without combination, either in their plans or in their movements, had ceased to be the terror of the enemies of France. Civil war raged in our western and southern departments; factions were tearing each other to pieces, and an imbecile Government vainly sought to ensure its safety by fomenting divisions.

#### CAMPAIGN OF THE ARMY OF RESERVE.

Bonaparte arrives from Egypt; hope returns, expectations are revived. The events of the 18th Brumaire justify those expectations, and every thing rallies round or yields to the genius

that conceives, the power that directs, and the moderation that restores confidence. But it is not enough to bring back order by the power of the laws, peace must be conquered by victory.

When Bonaparte was appointed First Consul, we had just lost the last place we possessed in Italy (Coni); our posts had fallen back on the summit of the Alps; we had not an inch of ground or a single place in Italy; all Germany was evacuated: we acted on the defensive, and occupied the places on the left bank of the Rhine. The western departments were up in arms; our enemies were every where formidable, ready to invade our frontiers, and change the destinies of the state: but Bonaparte took the direction of affairs; we once more crossed the Rhine, passed the Alps, and the Coalition, beaten and humbled, was reduced to accept a peace.

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Our labours advanced: we had dug the basin, and prepared part of the pipes that were to bring the water from a distance of three thousand feet. We had still several pipes to lay down; but the weather threatened rain, and Napoleon being satisfied with his Chinese work-

men, was unwilling that they should be exposed to it.—“It is useless,” said he, “that these people should get wet : there is no hurry for this basin ; let them rest, we will resume our task hereafter. I have, besides, some observations to make : come, follow me ; you will find them interesting.” I went, and found that the object of his observations was some ants, whose manners he had been studying. These insects had appeared in greater numbers in his bed-room since he occupied it less, and had climbed upon his table, on which there was usually some sugar. Allured by the bait, they had immediately established a chain of communication and taken possession of the sugar-basin. Napoleon was anxious that they should not be disturbed in their plans ; he only now and then moved the sugar, following their manœuvres, and admiring the activity and industry they displayed until they had found it again. “This is not instinct,” said he ; “it is much more—it is sagacity, intelligence, the ideal of civil association. But these little beings have not our passions, our cupidity ; they assist, but do not destroy each other. I have vainly endeavoured to defeat their purpose : I have removed the sugar to every

“ part of the room ; they have been one, two,  
“ or sometimes three days, looking for it, but  
“ have always succeeded at last. The idea  
“ strikes me to surround the basin with water,  
“ and see whether that will stop them : Doctor,  
“ send for some.” But water did not stop  
them—the sugar was still pillaged. The Em-  
peror then substituted vinegar, and the ants no  
longer ventured to approach.—“ You see it is  
“ not instinct alone that guides them : they are  
“ prompted by something else ; but what, I  
“ know not. However, be the principle which  
“ directs them what it may, they offer to man  
“ an example worthy of observation and reflec-  
“ tion. It is only by perseverance and tenacious-  
“ ness that any object can be attained . . . . Had  
“ we possessed such unanimity of views ! . . . .  
“ But nations have also their moments of for-  
“ getfulness and lassitude . . . . Allowance must  
“ be made for the weakness of human nature.  
“ However, all had not yielded to the storm.  
“ If the hero of Castiglione was extinct, Gerard,  
“ Clausel, Belliard, Lamarque, and a host of  
“ others, still preserved the fire and energy  
“ which mark the early steps in a career. Eu-  
“ rope would have been beaten, and those sove-  
“ reigns, now so proud at the idea of no longer



“ having for their equal a man of the people,  
 “ would have been eclipsed in my presence !” —  
 Napoleon then began to discuss the new dogmas  
 which they seek to defend, and the mystical  
 rights on which they found them. — “ What  
 “ ridiculous pretensions ! what contradictions !  
 “ Are these principles of legitimacy in con-  
 “ formity with the Scripture--with the laws  
 “ and maxims of religion ? Are nations simple  
 “ enough to believe themselves the property of  
 “ a family ? Was David, who dethroned Saul,  
 “ a legitimate ? Had he any other rights  
 “ than those he derived from the consent of his  
 “ nation ? In France, various families have suc-  
 “ ceeded each other on the throne, and have  
 “ formed several dynasties, either by the will of  
 “ the people, represented by the assemblies of  
 “ the *Champ-de-Mars* or *Chump-de-Mai* ; or  
 “ by the votes of the parliaments, composed of  
 “ barons and bishops, who at that period re-  
 “ presented the nation. How many families  
 “ have successively occupied the throne of Eng-  
 “ land !—The house of Hanover, which suc-  
 “ ceeded the prince it dethroned, now reigns,  
 “ because such was the will of the ancestors of  
 “ the present race of these touchy people, who

“ thought this change of Government absolutely  
“ necessary to the preservation of their inte-  
“ rests and of their political and religious rights.  
“ Some of the old men still living have wit-  
“ nessed the efforts made by the last branch of  
“ the Stuarts to land in Scotland, where they  
“ were seconded by those whose ideas and sen-  
“ timents were conformable to their own. The  
“ attempt was opposed, and the Stuarts ex-  
“ pulsed by an immense majority of the people,  
“ whose new interests and opinions were op-  
“ posed to those of that degenerate family.”

The Emperor now recapitulated all the cir-  
cumstances of his elevation, and insisted on his  
having had the voice and consent of the people.  
“ The Aulic Council,” added he, laughing, “ also  
“ persisted in denying the existence of the Re-  
“ public, from which it had, however, received  
“ some severe blows. At a later period, indeed,  
“ its plenipotentiaries offered me, during the ne-  
“ gotiations of Campo Formio, to acknowledge  
“ it.—‘ No,’ said I; ‘ strike out that clause: the  
“ existence of the Republic is as clear as that of  
“ the sun—blindness alone can prevent any one  
“ from seeing it. Times are now altered, and  
“ I must not lend my sanction to an absurdity.

“But let us go out and take a walk.” We went out accordingly : the Chinese were completing their arrangements, and we witnessed the arrival of the water into our basin.—“This is well ; but where shall we place the aviary?” —“Here, Sire?” —“No, further—behind you ; it will be better there, the prospect is more open. You will arrange that, Doctor ; if, however, occupations of a more serious nature do not occur to prevent you.”

Unfortunately such occupations did occur.—The Emperor, whose disorder I considered, if not entirely removed, at least considerably abated, suddenly relapsed into his former state. I had recourse to baths, to emollients, to every remedy, in short, which he did not refuse to take, but in vain : the blow was struck ; and if I succeeded in arresting the progress of the disease for one moment, it was to see it rage the next with increased violence. This cruel alternative alarmed me, and I thought it my duty to inform the Emperor’s family of what was going on. I requested his permission to write to Rome, and having obtained it, I addressed to the Chevalier Colonna the following letter :

“ St. Helena, Longwood,

“ 18th July, 1820.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ I HAVE not heard from you since I left Europe, and am uneasy at your silence. I wish to know how you are, and I am sure you will be desirous of having some account of the Emperor Napoleon, whose health is entrusted to my care.

“ I have now been already ten months in this island, and I can assure you that I have not passed a single day or night without devoting to the illustrious patient all the care and assistance my zeal and my medical knowledge could suggest. I found him labouring under a *chronic hepatitis* of the most serious nature. The remedies I had adopted seemed to have produced a beneficial effect; he was recovering, took exercise, and I had advised him to superintend, or rather to conduct, the formation of a garden consisting of a few *toises* of ground round his house; but whilst indulging the most flattering hopes, I have had the bitter disappointment of seeing those hopes destroyed, and the fruit of several months of care and anxiety entirely lost. The complaint has exhibited a continual alternation of amendment and relapse; and I must confess that I now despair .

apyretic. The intensity of the morbid symptoms had diminished, but the pain in the articulation was still felt. The patient refused purgatives, and I continued the use of local fomentations, liniments, enemas, &c.

21st.—The Emperor better.—Enemas—liniments.

22d.—Same state of health.—Bath.—Towards the evening the pain in the articulation decreased, and the tumour increased.—Enema—liniment.

23d.—The Emperor had passed a most restless and agitated night.—Dry cough—pain in the liver, extending over the whole lateral region. Saw him again at four, P. M., and found that relief had been produced by the bath. At ten, P. M., the tumour of the articulation had still increased; pain and erysipelatous inflammation in the same state. Continued the application of liniments, and advised clarified whey.—Bath.

24th.—Napoleon better.—Whey—liniment—bath.

25th.—Same state.—Napoleon refused to continue to take whey.—Liniment—bath.

26th.—Same state.—Substituted rice-water for whey—liniment—bath. The Emperor felt

better. I had been speaking to him about Rome, and all his recollections had centered on his mother. He recalled her affection, the tender care she had bestowed on him; and suddenly stopping — “ You are very much attached to me, Doctor; you care not for contrarieties, pain, or fatigue, when you can relieve my sufferings; yet all that is not maternal solicitude. Ah! Mamma Letizia! . . . .” In saying this he hid his face. I endeavoured to offer to his mind some less melancholy images, by speaking to him of Italy, of Corsica, of those he had loved. At first he listened to me with indifference: but the name of his nurse having been pronounced in the course of the conversation, he expatiated on the care she had taken of him in his infancy, and her kind of worship of him. “ She wished to witness the coronation, and came to Paris. I was very much entertained by her stories, and the lively animated manner in which she told them, and the gesticulations *à la Génoise* with which she accompanied them. She pleased Josephine and all the family, and also the Pope, who gave her abundance of benedictions, not concealing at the same time his surprise at the good sense and occasional flashes of wit of the

“ pious old lady. I gave her something more  
“ substantial than those benedictions, which she,  
“ however, highly prized : I transferred to her  
“ landed property and vines to the amount of  
“ one hundred and twenty thousand francs, and  
“ my paternal house. My mother, advised by  
“ the Cardinal, took upon herself not to give up  
“ the house; and put in it Ramolino, who offer-  
“ ed part of his own in exchange. The nurse  
“ remonstrated, but was not listened to. She  
“ sent her daughter to Paris to complain ; but  
“ all access to me was closed, and she was  
“ more than six months before she could get  
“ her petition delivered. This opposition sur-  
“ prised me, and I caused ample satisfaction  
“ to be given to the old lady. I sent word to  
“ Ramolino, that since he chose to keep our  
“ house, he must immediately resign his own  
“ entirely to the nurse, and pay her a sum of  
“ twenty thousand francs. This he did ; every  
“ body was pleased, and my nurse had this  
“ additional sum of money.”

27th.—The Emperor had passed a bad night. The pain in the liver became more acute, extending over the whole of the right costal region, up to the shoulder. Violent pains in the bowels—dry cough—frequent nausea—vo-

miting of bilious matters—cephalalgia—oppression—skin yellowish white.—The patient refused to take rice-water.—Prescribed a chologogue purgative, anodyne beverage, simple enemas, fomentations, liniments, and bathing ; and at ten o'clock at night, he was rather better.

28th.—The Emperor continued better.—The pain in the articulation had entirely subsided ; but the foot was still rather swollen.—Liniment—bath.

29th and 30th.—Same state of health—same prescription.—Advised, for the second time, thermal waters.

31st. — The Emperor well again. — His strength had returned, and he went out.—Fish had been brought to put into the ponds we had dug ; and Napoleon desirous of throwing them into the water himself, went into the garden. The children of the Grand Marshal perceived him, and were soon round him. He had not seen them for some days, and purposing to send for them, was not sorry to find them beforehand with him.—“Send for the Doctor,” said he to General Montholon, “I want his “ministry ; he must bore these pretty little “ears” (showing those of little Hortense, and opening a paper, in which a pair of coral ear-



rings were folded-up.) I prepared accordingly to perform the little operation, but the sight of the instrument produced the usual effect,—the child cried, and the Emperor, fearing lest mamma should not be pleased, hesitated. His presence, however, and that of the ear-rings, soon dried up her tears. We retired under the shade of an oak-tree: General Montholon supported the patient; Napoleon looked on, and little Arthur stamped and stormed, crying out that he would not allow his sister to be hurt! Napoleon was highly amused by the anger, threats, and English phrases, of the little fellow, who only grumbled the more. “What do you say, little rogue?” said the Emperor to him; “if you do not be quiet, I will have your ears bored also: come, will you be obedient?”—The operation over, and the ear-rings put on, Napoleon embraced the amiable little creature, congratulating her on her courage, and sent her away: “Go and show your ears to mamma, and if she is not satisfied, and does not approve of the operation, tell her that it was not I, but the *Dottoraccio*, who did it!”—“Yes, Sire;” and she bounded away and disappeared in an instant.

I remained alone with the Emperor. The

spirit of little Arthur had struck him; and, as he walked, he made me observe the firmness of the child.—“The little urchin!” said he; “I was just as resolute at his age; nothing could frighten or disconcert me. I was noisy and quarrelsome, and feared nobody. I beat one, scratched another, and made myself formidable to all. Most of my encounters were with my brother Joseph: he was beaten, bitten, scolded; and I had already gone to complain of him before he had had time to look around him; and it was fortunate for me to be thus alert, for Mamma Letizia would have restrained my warlike humour, and would not have put up with my pranks. Her affection was tempered by severity; she punished and rewarded without distinction—nothing we did, either good or evil, was lost. My father, an enlightened man, but too fond of pleasure to trouble himself about our infancy, sometimes endeavoured to excuse our faults. On those occasions my mother would say to him, ‘Leave that to me, it is not your business; it is my duty to watch over them:’ and this she did with unexampled care, discarding and stamping with disgrace every ignoble sentiment and affection, and only allowing our young

“ minds to imbibe impressions of what was  
“ great and elevated. She abhorred falsehood,  
“ punished disobedience, and did not allow any  
“ fault to pass unnoticed. I recollect a mis-  
“ adventure that happened to me, and the pe-  
“ nalty that was inflicted upon me for my fault.  
“ —There were some fig-trees in one of our  
“ vineyards, and we liked to climb them ; but  
“ in so doing we might fall or meet with some  
“ accident, and she, therefore, forbade us to  
“ approach them without her knowledge. This  
“ prohibition was a source of great disappoint-  
“ ment to me ; but still it was made, and I re-  
“ spected it. One day, however, being unoc-  
“ cupied, and assailed by *ennui*, I took it into  
“ my head to covet the figs : they were ripe,  
“ nobody saw me, and consequently, nobody  
“ would know any thing about the matter . . . .  
“ I hastened to a tree, and gathered all the  
“ fruit it bore. My appetite being satisfied, I  
“ was laying in a provision for the road, by  
“ filling my pockets, when a keeper made his  
“ appearance. I was half dead, and remained  
“ motionless on the branch on which he had  
“ caught me. He threatened to bind me hand  
“ and foot, and carry me before my mother.  
“ Fear rendered me eloquent : I described the

“ *ennui* produced by idleness, promised to re-  
“ spect the figs in future, and at last succeeded  
“ in appeasing him. I congratulated myself  
“ upon my narrow escape, and flattered myself  
“ that this adventure would not come to light ;  
“ but the traitor keeper had told the whole  
“ story ; and accordingly, the next day, the  
“ Signora Letizia felt desirous of gathering  
“ some figs, and proceeded to the tree for that  
“ purpose ; but there were none left—I had  
“ carried all away. The keeper was sent for, an  
“ explanation ensued, a disclosure was made,  
“ and the guilty paid the penalty of his fault.”

The Emperor had resumed his habits of early rising, and would frequently go and breathe the fresh air before sunrise. One day, his gums being painful, he entered my room, and addressing himself to me before I had perceived him : “ I suffer, Doctor,” said he : “ my  
“ teeth ach ; what is to be done ? let us see—  
“ what says your work ?” My anatomical plates were lying open before me, and without allowing me time to answer him, he began to discuss upon the work. He regretted it had not been executed sooner : he would have applied to anatomy ; he would know it, and that would be an additional satisfaction to him.

He had often tried to study it, but disgust had overcome his wish to learn ; he had never been able to conquer the sort of horror with which the sight of a corpse inspired him. These plates rendered dissection, as it were, useless ; a single glance enabled one to discover the play and structure of the various organs, to observe their relation one to another, to trace their ramifications : the human frame was laid open and published. He was sorry the execution of the plan had been so long delayed. “ Doctor, your  
“ plates form a magnificent work : I wish them  
“ to be dedicated to me—to appear under my  
“ auspices : I am anxious to render this last  
“ service to science. I will supply you with the  
“ money, and you shall return to Europe and  
“ publish them : I feel ambitious to contribute  
“ to raise this monument.” The Emperor often returned to this subject, and spoke each time with renewed satisfaction of the undertaking.  
“ But why have you not drawn a line of demar-  
“ cation to point out your share of the work, and  
“ distinguish it from that of Mascagni ? Every  
“ man should enjoy the merit of the result of  
“ his own researches. You have framed the  
“ introduction to the work, you have written  
“ the text of the anatomy of painters, and you

“ publish the whole in the name of the professor !  
“ This is sacrificing too much, and acting too  
“ disinterested—too modest a part : every one  
“ must have his own.”—“ True, Sire, but my  
share is naturally pointed out in the work itself.  
Mascagni has engraved thirty plates, and given  
an account of his discoveries ; what remains  
over and above that, is mine : let a comparison  
be made, I only claim the difference.”

The progress of the Emperor's complaint was slow, but unceasing and visible ; and it was particularly on the mind that its effect was marked. Napoleon now only spoke of the objects that had arrested his attention during his infancy, and of his friends and relations. The news that had been circulated respecting his son had grieved him beyond measure ; he complained and bewailed the fate of that child, whose cradle had been surrounded by so many hopes. At last he heard that he had been named a corporal. “ Ah ! I breathe !” said he ; and then, as if unwilling to betray his emotion, he began to speak of Corsica, and of the recollections he had preserved of that country. “ When  
“ I visited Genoa after my accession to the  
“ throne of Italy, I thought myself suddenly  
“ transported to our mountains. Shape, man-

“ners, dress, arrangement of the shops—every  
“thing was like our country. This similarity  
“struck me, and Josephine enjoyed my asto-  
“nishment, and endeavoured to prolong its du-  
“ration.”—“What! the features and habits are  
the same?”—“Yes; probably the Corsicans are  
“the bastards of the Genoese. This idea made  
“her laugh, and amused her very much. I  
“went out on horseback, rode over the heights,  
“and visited the positions which defend Genoa,  
“and fixed the works to be made to protect the  
“town. I could not help admiring this odd  
“fancy of Nature, in having, as it were, carved  
“the two countries after the same model. I  
“had been three hours rambling over these  
“rugged places: it was eleven o’clock, and I  
“was exhausted; I returned and set to work  
“with the worthy Gaudin, who presented me  
“the plan of the financial organization of Ligu-  
“ria. I was completely overcome with fatigue,  
“and he had hardly begun to read before I  
“was asleep. I begged him to desist for a  
“short time, whilst I went to take a few mi-  
“nutes rest; but I met in my passage some  
“generals who awaited my orders. I despatch-  
“ed their business, and remained thirty-six  
“hours at work; and it was only at my de-

“parture that I could sign the minister’s plan.  
“This Duke of Gaëta was a man full of zeal,  
“and of the greatest probity: what services  
“he has rendered!” The Emperor briefly recapitulated the share he had had in our successes by his financial operations, and added:  
“A short time after the battle of Austerlitz, he  
“came and asked me for my cannons of bronze.  
“‘How!’ said I, ‘do you wish to wage war  
“against me?’—‘No, Sire, I only wish to make  
“coining-dies of them.’—‘My cannons for such  
“a purpose! use something else.’—‘But I intended that the words *Dies of Austerlitz*  
“should be engraved on every one.’—‘Minister, you assail my vanity; well, be it so, I  
“give them to you.’”

We had now got to the end of the first fortnight in September. The pain in the liver returned, and became more acute; and the Emperor experienced disgust and nausea, followed by vomiting of bilious matter, and sensation of violent heat in the right hypochondriac and epigastric regions. Walking in open air, be the weather what it might, either hot or cold, calm or boisterous, became intolerable to him; he felt exhausted, and was obliged to seek rest.



18th.—Eyes sunk, conjunctiva of a yellow cast ; lips and gums discoloured ; tongue covered with a whitish substance ; skin excessively pale, bordering upon yellow ; complexion tinged with a greenish cast ; pain in the head, particularly about the forehead and the eyebrows ; nightmare (*incubus*) ; uneasy sensation of heat in the thorax ; breathing difficult, interrupted by deep sighs ; feet and legs icy cold,—warmth restored to them by the application of warm linen ; skin dry and burning ; pulse low and quick (80) ; the epigastric region painful on pressure. The Emperor experienced a sensation of heaviness in the abdomen, disgust, and an almost unconquerable disposition to sleep. I endeavoured to rouse him from that state of lethargy by speaking of the care his health required. “ Ah ! “ Doctor, forbear ! ” said he ; “ we are happy “ when we sleep ; wants, privations, cares, and “ anxiety, are then no more : ” and he fell again upon his pillow. He had a violent headach ; and after many entreaties I succeeded in making him consent to take a purgative chologogue, which afforded great relief.

19th.—The Emperor had passed a better night, but the morbid symptoms had lost nothing of their intensity. The pain<sup>s</sup> in the

head was, however, less violent, and the greenish cast of the face and the yellow tinge of the conjunctiva were also rather softened. The sensation of heaviness in the abdomen had disappeared, but had been succeeded by one of intolerable suffering, and by pains in the liver much more violent than before.—Bath.—The pulse was more regular, and the skin less dry and burning.

20th.—Same state. The Emperor went to take a ride in the calash, but returned in a few minutes exhausted with fatigue.

21st.—Same state of health. I advised tonics internally, and blisters on the arm and the nape of the neck, and particularly insisted upon opening an issue in the left arm; but Napoleon rejected every prescription that was recommended to him. I informed the Grand Marshal and General Montholon of the Emperor's situation.

22d.—The Emperor was better. After having taken a bath, wishing to breathe the open air, he tried to walk, to ride on horseback or in the calash, but fatigue and indisposition soon obliged him to come back and go to bed.

23d.—The Emperor's health in the same state. He however persisted in attempting to

take the air. He rode on horseback, and in the calash; but after having gone a short distance, he found himself compelled to return again, and to go to bed. He continued to try this kind of exercise for some days, persuading himself that motion is the first of remedies; but what with the heat of the sun, his cough, and shiverings that ran through all his limbs, he was obliged to give up the attempt. He again renewed it two days after; and alternately experiencing relief and relapses, he reached the 3d of October; on which day he experienced a general torpor, which was only dispelled by his being placed near the fire. The lower extremities were a long time getting warm; and this result had hardly been obtained before he was seized with convulsive contractions, and a sensation of extreme heaviness in the head.

4th October.—The Emperor came in at two o'clock, P. M., extremely tired, and went to bed, desiring that he might not be disturbed. He had taken a ride of two leagues and a half, partly on horseback, and partly in the calash; had rested at Sandy-bay-ridge, and stopped at Mr. Doveton's, where he breakfasted, and drank, he said, three glasses of champagne. He experienced a violent headach, and a general

sensation of uneasiness—dry and nervous cough—face extremely pale—eyes sunk—pulse low and nervous.

5th.—The Emperor continued to complain of head-ach, which was, however, less violent than yesterday. The pain in the liver had considerably increased, and extended as far as the right shoulder, and he still felt a most troublesome heaviness and a deep pain in the left hypochondriac region. No sensible alteration had occurred in the other symptoms. He took a little exercise in the garden.

6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th.—The bad weather prevented the Emperor from taking his ride in the calash, but he took a walk in the garden, after which he got into a bath heated to a high degree of temperature. I endeavoured to oppose this practice, but he told me it was followed in Egypt, and that he had derived the most beneficial results from it. “Your  
“colleagues, then, were also not sparing of  
“their remonstrances. I should catch the . . .  
“I cannot tell you what complaints I was to  
“catch!—Well! I caught none, and remained in  
“perfect health. My instinct served me better  
“than the science of Hippocrates, and my  
“brush and flannel were more efficacious than  
“all the efforts of his followers. This does not

“ apply to you, Doctor, in whose skill I place  
“ the greatest confidence ; but I have the be-  
“ nefit of my own experience, and am also  
“ rather tenacious of my opinions.”

10th.—The Emperor remained an hour in his bath, and was obliged to get out of it to go to bed, being so weak that he almost fainted. His strength did not return after he had been in bed ; his face was pale, approaching to yellow, and he experienced a sensation of icy coldness all over the body. The senses, particularly that of hearing, seem impaired : pulse low and irregular.

11th, 12th, 13th.—The Emperor's health had not improved ; on the contrary his strength appeared to decline. He woke in the middle of the night with a violent headach, and in a state of costiveness which enemias were insufficient to dispel : the extremities were deadly cold, his frame shook ; he felt palpitations in the heart, and a general uneasiness, agitation in the abdomen, pain in the region of the sternum, breathing difficult, dry and nervous cough. His weakness was such that the slightest movement was sufficient to produce vertigos. At two o'clock in the morning the costiveness ceased, and he had copious evacuations, which

were followed by excessive debility. From three to five o'clock the intensity of these various symptoms diminished; but a new pain made its appearance, extending down the vertebral column, from the nape of the neck and the shoulders to the middle of the back.

14th.—The Emperor slept from six o'clock until nine, and woke with a deep pain in the left side of the head. The pain in the sternum still continued. Pulse low and regular. I advised emollients, and insisted upon the application of blisters.—“Doctor,” said Napoleon, “no physicking. We are, as I have already often told you, a machine made to live; we are organized for that purpose, and such is our nature. Do not counteract the living principle: let it alone; leave it the liberty to defend itself—it will do better than your drugs. Our body is a watch that is intended to go a given time. The watch-maker cannot open it, and must, in handling it, grope his way blindfold and at random. For once that he assists and relieves it, by dint of tormenting it with his crooked instruments, he injures it ten times, and at last destroys it.” Thinking, probably, that this comparison which had particularly struck his fancy had not convinced me,

he began to discuss the uncertainty of medicine, and the danger arising from the drugs which the faculty distribute indiscriminately, and added:—" You are aware, Doctor, that  
" the art of healing consists only in lulling and  
" calming the imagination. That is the reason why the ancients dressed up in robes, and  
" adopted a costume striking and imposing.  
" That costume you have unadvisedly abandoned; and in so doing you have exposed  
" the imposture of Galen, and no longer exercise  
" the same powerful influence over your patients.  
" Who knows whether, if you were suddenly to  
" appear before me with an enormous wig, a  
" cap, and a long train, I should not take you  
" for the god of health! whereas you are only  
" the god of medicines.

The Emperor, fearing lest I should again renew my importunities, endeavoured to elude them by joking on the subject: but mirth also affords relief to sufferings, and I therefore prolonged the conversation as much as possible.

15th.—The Emperor had passed a quiet night. The pain in the head was still felt, that of the sternum extended round the right breast, and the dry cough continued, with frequent and insipid ructations from the stomach.

The patient had eaten with a tolerable appetite, and his pulse, though low, was regular ; but the paleness of the face, the lips, and all the limbs, had reached the highest pitch. At last I obtained leave to apply blisters, and put two on the arm at one o'clock, which only began to operate at five.—Perpetual state of agitation the whole day.

16th.—The blisters were removed : very little serosity was found beneath the portions of cuticle they had raised, and the paleness of the skin below was not altered.

The blister on the left side seemed to have produced a greater effect than that on the right, but neither had acted powerfully. The agitation continued ; the pain in the head and chest had disappeared, but the cough had increased. The skin was dry and burning—pulse low and nervous. At four o'clock in the morning an abundant evacuation, accompanied with violent gripings. At eleven the cough still lasted, the head-ach returned, the pulse was low but regular. Napoleon took a walk of two hours in the garden ; and towards evening his strength improved, and the head-ach left him.

17th.—The Emperor had passed a bad night, having suffered slight pains of colic, ac-



accompanied by frequent evacuations. He was, when I saw him at nine o'clock, rather better.—Pulse low but regular, and strength returning. A walk in the garden improved this favourable state. At sunset the patient experienced a general sensation of languor, which was dispelled by taking a little food.

18th.—Napoleon a little better. He went out, walked a few minutes in the garden, and returned to bed towards eight o'clock. The coldness of the feet extended by degrees up to the thighs ; but by constant application of hot towels, the natural heat was restored.—Pulse regular and low.

19th.—The Emperor a little better ; but at sunset the lower extremities again became cold. The blisters were dried up.—Pulse as usual.

20th.—The Emperor rather better. He went out in the calash, rode two hours, and came in exhausted with fatigue. He had scarcely got into bed before the coldness of the lower extremities appeared with increased violence, but was dispelled by degrees, and succeeded by a burning heat, which spread all over the body, and was followed by a general calm.—Pulse low and nervous.

21st.—Napoleon tolerably well. He took a bath, in which he remained about three-quarters of an hour. At twelve o'clock he went out into the garden, conversing upon the facilities and the obstacles he had met with at the period of the Consulate. "The armies were discouraged, beaten, driven on the line of the Var; the enemy were close to our frontiers; we were threatened with an invasion; but the population fled to arms—all came forward: we marched, and France was saved."—Napoleon entered into the most minute details: he spoke of Vallongnes, of the reports in circulation at the time, and of the spirit which animated the South. The picture did not much agree with the statement made by a noble emigrant in the *tribune*,\* and with the offensive preparations which the *inconceivable battle of Marengo* rendered unavailing. "The Marquis must certainly have made a mistake as to numbers: an army of twenty-five thousand men, possessed of courage, does not remain concealed, and wait to beat to arms until the enemy has left the field of battle. However, I do not insist on this point; I merely recommend the

\* Place from which members of public assemblies in France deliver their speeches.

“ following document to the consideration of  
“ this occult General; it is worth comparing  
“ with his muster-rolls.”

“ Antibes, 20th Floreal, VIIIth Year of  
the Republic (10th May, 1800.)

“ THE PREFECT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF  
“ THE VAR TO THE MINISTER OF WAR.

“ CITIZEN MINISTER,

“ By a concourse of unfortunate circumstances, added to grave errors, the department of the Var has, in eight days, become an open frontier, seriously threatened by a superior enemy. To-morrow, or even this night, it may be the scene of an invasion followed by fire and devastation.

“ Lines rendered formidable by their position have been abandoned, and the town of Nice was this morning evacuated. Eighteen thousand Austrians line the left bank of the Var, and there only remains between them and us a torrent, the passage of which is defended by four or five thousand men—of troops discouraged, and commanded by generals who do not agree together.

“ On the first intimation of this retrograde movement, I proceeded to the line of the Var.

I sought in vain for an army; instead of one, I only saw soldiers dispersed and wounded, abandoned on the roads, and sighing after hospitals which do not exist. The retreat of every branch of the army is directed towards the interior, and is pushed on as far as Marseilles. A host of *employés* of every description is flying, accompanied by covered waggons, the excessive load of which excites strong suspicions against the persons on whose account they journey.

“ In the midst of this confusion, of which it is impossible to form an idea, I have not lost courage, and have endeavoured to form an army, by marching on the Var all the moveable columns of the department, with supplies for five days. At my voice the peasantry have left their fields, and unyoked their ploughs; and twelve hundred horses or mules perform the service of military transports.

“ This measure will deceive and awe the enemy for a few days; but he has secret communications with the interior, and will soon penetrate the secret of our weakness. It is, therefore, urgent to provide for the defence of this frontier, and to have recourse to regular and adequate means.

“ I have seen at Antibes, General Oudinot, and have thought that I might—nay, that I ought, to ask him what were his means of defence ; what line he thought of occupying ; on what points he wished the levies of citizens to be directed ; and lastly, what description of assistance he stood in need of, and to what amount. I have offered to place myself at the head of my department, on the points the most exposed and threatened. I am still waiting for his answer.

“ Obligated by his delay to take upon myself the duty of this General towards you, I think it right to inform you that the moveable columns are marching ; that they hasten from every point to the head-quarters at Antibes ; and that success has crowned this first measure. At the same time, however, you will permit me to lay before you the following considerations. —I think

“ 1st. That no reliance ought to be placed on Antibes, on account of its unfavourable situation in a country covered and commanded by heights. If it is attacked with artillery, it will not hold out eight days ; if it is merely blockaded, it will be equally compelled to surrender, since it is unprovisioned.

“ 2dly. That reliance cannot be placed on the moveable columns. The time of the harvest,

which is drawing near, will recall the husbandmen, who form the greatest proportion of these columns, to their fields, and it will be impossible to check desertion.

“ 3dly. That advantage must, therefore, be taken without loss of time, of the effect the imposing appearance of this levy will produce on the enemy, to assemble troops of the line, and to give them, above all, an intelligent commander, and one whose reputation may put an end to all private rivalry.

“ 4thly. That, with a reinforcement of six thousand men of good troops, and by mustering the moveable columns of the department of the *Bouches du Rhône*, the department may be covered by fortifying the line of the Esteron, and the post of *Gillette*. The enemy will not dare to penetrate into the interior without possessing that post. The country is too much intersected by mountains to allow the Austrians to engage in it, unless they are masters of the upper department, through which alone they could effect a retreat.

“ 5thly. That no apprehensions need be entertained with respect to the means of subsistence; but that it is absolutely necessary to supply the means of transport, which the department of the Var could not do.

“ I feel that I am, perhaps, entering too much into details to which I might be expected to be a stranger; but the communication is confidential, the information true and impartial; and it is essential that you should not be deceived by reports resting on slight foundation, or framed with interested views.

“ Watch over Toulon : that important place is also destitute of provisions, and inadequately provided with arms. We may still be saved by the methodical sloth of the Austrians ; but the least delay, on our part, might be the cause of great evils, and considerable losses to the Republic.

“ Respectfully yours,

“ FAUCHET.”

22d. — The Emperor much better. His strength and appetite had returned, and he had been four hours seriously engaged at work. He had kept the Grand Marshal and his family to dinner, and was pleased and happy. His sufferings had slumbered during a whole day—they might never wake again: he was full of hope. “ When my health is once re-established, I shall restore you to your studies.

“ You shall proceed to Europe and publish your  
“ works; I will not suffer you to waste your  
“ existence on this horrible rock. You have  
“ told me, if I recollect rightly, that you do not  
“ know France: you will then see that coun-  
“ try; you will see those canals, those monu-  
“ ments, with which I covered it during the  
“ time of my power. The duration of that  
“ power has been like that of a flash of light-  
“ ning! But no matter, it is filled with useful  
“ institutions.” — “ Immortal, Sire! — Cherburg,  
Turin, Antwerp!” . . . — “ I have done bet-  
“ ter than all that.” — “ What, then, Sire?  
What prodigy?” — I waited for his answer.  
“ Yes, Doctor, I have done better; I have hal-  
“ lowed the Revolution, by infusing it into our  
“ laws. My code is the sheet-anchor which  
“ will save France, and entitle me to the bene-  
“ dictions of posterity; besides that, there are, as  
“ you were saying, establishments, foundations  
“ — Flushing, Corfu, Ostend!” . . . — “ The Alps  
levelled!” — “ The plan of that undertaking  
“ is one of the first, formed at the commence-  
“ ment of my career. I had entered Italy, and  
“ finding that the communications with Paris  
“ occupied a considerable time, and were at-  
“ tended with much difficulty, I endeavoured



“ to render them quicker, and resolved to open  
“ them through the valley of the Rhône. I  
“ also wished to render that river navigable,  
“ and blow up the rock under which it engulphs  
“ and disappears. I had sent engineers on the  
“ spot: the expense would have been inconsi-  
“ derable, and I submitted the plan to the Di-  
“ rectory; but we were carried away by events:  
“ I went to Egypt, and nobody thought any  
“ more about it. On my return, I took it up  
“ again: I had dismissed the lawyers, and having  
“ no more obstacles in my way, we applied our  
“ hammers to the Alps; we executed what the  
“ Romans had not dared to try, and traced,  
“ through blocks of granite, a solid and spacious  
“ road, capable of resisting the efforts of time.”  
——“ But not those of Piedmontese industry.”——  
“ How so? Do the Piedmontese spoil that  
“ road?”——“ I have heard so.”——“ Ah, that is  
“ not right! I was entitled to a little more re-  
“ spect from the House of Savoy.” Napoleon  
then entered into numerous details respecting  
the armistice of Cherasco, the democratic fer-  
vour of the Directory, and its repugnance for  
peace, when he insisted on the ratification of the  
treaty.——“ ‘What! with a despot!’ was the reply.  
“ ——‘His resources are still immense.’——‘We will

“ stir up popular commotions against him,—we  
“ will excite the valleys to revolt.’—‘ But his  
“ troops!’—‘ They must be seduced.’—In fact  
“ there was no kind of trick and chicanery to  
“ which Talleyrand did not resort in order to  
“ avoid signing the treaty, as the following  
“ letter will exemplify :—

“ 30th Fructidor, Vth Year  
of the Republic.

“ TO GENERAL BONAPARTE.

“ I add to my despatches of this day some explanations upon objects which have not seemed to me of a nature to appear amongst the official documents ; but concerning which it is nevertheless proper you should receive some information.

“ The Directory refuses to sign the treaty with the King of Sardinia. There would be a kind of inconsistency in our binding ourselves by solemn treaties with a monarchy, the speedy destruction of which might be the result of our operations in Italy : we should be accused of the same kind of Machiavelism with which the King of Prussia behaved in Poland. Besides, the article of the treaty upon which the King of Sardinia lays the greatest stress, is that by

which the security of his kingdom is guaranteed, and we cannot give to kings a guarantee against the people: such an engagement would lead us to wage war against the same principles for which we have hitherto fought, and to which we owe the greatest part of our victories. The fate of Piedmont, situated as it is between France and Italy (both free), will become what it may: all we can do in that country is to let things follow their natural course.

“ You therefore cannot have the ten thousand Piedmontese that had been promised to you; but there is nothing to prevent you from having as many soldiers from this country as you wish. There is no want here of men willing to fight for liberty, and under your orders: all Revolutionists will immediately come forward; it will be sufficient for you to induce the Cisalpine Republic to enlist, pay, and equip them. You will thus have the little army which the King of Sardinia was to furnish; and we shall have no obligation to a prince of the House of Bourbon. It is very probable that the Court of Turin will not oppose the raising of these levies, and that it will perhaps be very glad to be rid of some individuals who give her cause for uneasiness; and this measure, useful to us, will

thus retard the explosion there: the only difficulty consists in paying them. I am aware that the Cisalpine Republic already pays a great deal; but it is only money, and France has paid a much dearer price for her liberty. It is, besides, greatly for her interest that this measure should take place; and if the campaign opens again, it will be more on her account than on ours.

“ With respect to Mr. Thugut, who is the sovereign of Vienna, and who preaches the continuation of war, against the opinion of the Emperor and the wishes of the people; he is a man whom we ought to have undermined before this time. He has always demanded and obtained money for leading his masters into most detestable affairs. You will find in the instructions given to Clarke, some information respecting an old piece of treachery, which has already been communicated to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. You may cause some allusion to be made to this circumstance in the newspapers of Italy, which are most read at Vienna, and in such a way as to make him fear that more might be said; and if afterwards war does take place, the traitor must be totally unmasked, and the official documents published, in order that

it may be known at Vienna and all over Europe, that he has formerly received, and still receives money, and that he is the sole cause of a war, which he only prolongs to favour England and increase the treasure with which she supplies him. If any thing then excites surprise, it will be our having so long delayed the publication of such facts, and at last they must come to the knowledge of the Emperor.

“ On our side we shall labour to turn in our favour the opinion of Europe, which is in great part already for us ; this is an expedient, or rather a weapon, which we must not neglect. We intend to circulate documents that will clearly make it appear that the Courts of Vienna and London were quite agreed with the faction which has just been upset in France, and will show how far the negotiations of the two Courts and the movements of the interior proceeded simultaneously. The common and evident object of the members of Clichy, and of the Cabinet of the Emperor, was, the re-establishment of a King in France, and a degrading peace by which Italy was to be restored to her former masters.

“ Should they talk to you about equilibrium and the balance of Europe, how much will you not have it in your power to say respecting Po-

land, which has so materially increased the power of Austria; and respecting which the Directory has condescended to forbear pronouncing during the course of the negotiation, though continually prompted to do so by the interest which they take in the fate of the Poles and of their country!

“ If you find that the negotiation cannot be brought to a favourable issue, you will then prosecute the plan for the expulsion of the House of Austria; and in that case you will feel that the neutrality of Tuscany must not be regarded.

“ CH. M. TALLEYRAND.”

24th.—The Emperor had continued well during the remainder of yesterday: he had passed the greatest part of the night reading newspapers, and was engaged in the same occupation when I saw him this morning at ten o'clock.

At two o'clock P. M. he took a bath, in which he remained half an hour. His strength increased, and the state of costiveness diminished; but he complained of an acute pain in the right hypochondriac region, which extended as far as the breast on the same side.

25th.—The Emperor, after having expe-

rienced a violent pain in the frontal region, was seized with a kind of drowsiness. He took a foot-bath into which some mustard-seeds were thrown, and found relief from it. He complained of the miserable state of his health. "Can any thing be more deplorable than my present condition? This is not life, it is mere existence ..... my health will never be restored ..... even my present situation must be precarious, and perhaps death will soon terminate my sufferings." He recommended to me the autopsy of his corpse.—"We are not come to that, Sire," answered I, "if your Majesty will only condescend to follow the treatment I have prescribed ..... you are not near the term of your career."—"I should wish to believe you, Doctor, but the blisters dry very quickly."—"They will soon resume energy, if your Majesty will ....."—"Medicines again! You are a Doctor, and would promise life to a corpse if it could take pills. But I do not deceive myself; I feel that I am near my end. All the powers of the vital functions are concentrated on the spot which the cantharides have excited: you will keep them on a week or ten days longer, when you will have obtained all the effect that can possibly be expected

“ from them.”—“ In that case, Sire, we might try an issue.”—“ No : Corvisart had opened one, but it is too troublesome and inconvenient ; I will not have any.”

26th.—Napoleon worse than yesterday.—General atony—icy coldness of the extremities, in spite of every means I could devise to restore warmth to them—excessive paleness. At three o'clock the Emperor went to the Grand Marshal's, where he remained till six. During that interval he was seized with a shivering in all his frame, accompanied by excessive thirst. He drank lemonade, and caused a large fire to be lighted, near which he endeavoured to warm himself. His strength was entirely exhausted. “ In what a state am I, Doctor ! every thing seems to weigh upon me, to fatigue me ; I can scarcely support myself. You have not, amongst the resources of your art, any means of reviving the play of the machine ? ” He accompanied this with a gesture, indicating the whole frame. I told him that medicine possessed many such means.—“ Prompt and efficacious ? ” —“ Sire, time..... ” — “ Ah ! yes ; time ! You beguile pain, and death puts an end to it.”

27th and 28th.—Same state.—Pulse weak and agitated.—No improvement.



29th.—The state of weakness had increased. Deep pain in the right hypochondriac region—abundant evacuations of ill-digested matters.—These evacuations had already lasted some days. I endeavoured to obviate the serious consequences to which a continuation of such a state might lead, and insisted upon the necessity of a medical treatment. I dropped a few observations upon the alteration which had taken place in the functions of the stomach, as well as the liver; the Emperor hastily took them up: “What are you saying about the stomach? Know, Sir, that mine is sound; and that I have never, in any place, or under any circumstances, suffered the slightest pain from it. Therefore no more on that subject: do you hear?”

30th.—The Emperor very pale, and complaining of his extreme weakness. He had a violent head-ach, and felt an annoying pain along the third part of the lower extremity of the right leg, in the right hypochondriac region, and in the epigastric region. During the night, evacuation of bilious matters. He refused to take any medicine.

31st.—Napoleon worse than yesterday. He had passed a very restless night, and had had successively eight evacuations of liquid matters,

and undigested substances. The pain in the head and in the right hypochondriac region was still as violent—pulse low and agitated. During the day, three evacuations similar to those of the night. The patient was lying on a sofa, under several coverings, though the thermometer of Fahrenheit was at sixty-five to sixty-six degrees. The lower extremities almost constantly cold. He persisted in refusing to take any medicines: I prescribed a strict diet, rice-water, and some enemas. Towards the evening, pulse more regular, but weak, and Napoleon felt rather better. He complained that the skin upon which the blisters had been applied was still red, and occasioned a sensation of excessive irritation.

November 1st.—The Emperor had passed a tolerable night, and had only had one evacuation, of the same nature as the preceding.—Pulse irregular and nervous; pain in the head, rather violent; digestion very laborious, though the patient had taken but very little food; the stomach painfully distended by the presence of gas, which occasioned frequent insipid ructations. *The pain in the liver had increased*: a dry and almost continual cough, caused by the state of the stomach, produced vomiting of aqueous matters. The icy coldness of the extremities

caused a spasmodic contraction of the cerebral nerves. Towards evening all these symptoms disappeared, and the patient was evidently better.

2d.—After a short slumber, the Emperor was awakened at four A. M. by a dry and nervous cough, accompanied by insipid ructations and vomitings of aqueous matters. Anodyne potions allayed the irritation of these symptoms towards the break of day. At nine the Emperor was calm and weak, and took some light food. At three P. M. the fits of coughing returned, accompanied by frequent ructations of an insipid nature, vomiting of aqueous matters, and painful distension of the stomach. *Pain in the head and the liver*—icy coldness of the lower extremities. — Application of warm towels on the legs, friction on the abdomen, with a liniment of ammoniac and opium—calming draught. Towards evening all these alarming symptoms subsided.

3d.—The Emperor had passed a tolerably good night ; and there was an evident improvement in the patient's health. The prostration of strength, however, still continued. At twelve o'clock Napoleon felt a violent pain in the head, coldness, and spasmodic contractions at the lower extremities. He recovered his appetite a little.

I proposed tepid baths of sea-water. — Continued coldness of the extremities. — Application of warm towels.

4th. — Napoleon rather better. — Return of appetite — pulse low and regular. — Tepid bath, composed of two-thirds of sea-water and one-third of soft water, in which the patient remained thirty-five minutes.

5th. — Continued improvement in the Emperor's health. He took another bath of salt-water, in which he remained about three quarters of an hour. His sufferings had ceased awhile, and he began to talk and converse; passing in review, amongst other topics, the works he had executed and the men he had protected in Italy. He had made roads from Pavia to Padua, from Padua to Fusine and Ponte Longo, from Sarravalle to Belluno and Cadore, and from Vicenza to Novarra. He had dug the port of Malomocco, drained the valleys which terminate at Verona, thrown bridges over the Adige, restrained the inundations of the Bacchiglione, raised dykes, re-constructed canals and aqueducts — and yet this was only the beginning of what he had planned for Italy. From the things he had done, the Emperor passed to the men he had known, and spoke at some length of Cesa-rotti, the pomp and harmony of whose poetry

he liked. He had assisted him, and loaded him with favours; but hatred followed the abuse of victory: we became odious—we were beaten; the poet yielded to the general feeling of exasperation, and applauded our reverses. This error did not, however, deprive him of Napoleon's benevolence; for one of the first things the Emperor did, after the incorporation of Venice, was to recommend Cesarotti to Prince Eugene.

“My son,” wrote he to him, “when I commanded as General-in-chief in the Venetian States, before the treaty of Campo-Formio, the Abbé Cesarotti was presented to me at Padua. He was a man of merit, but poor; I received him in a distinguished manner, and gave him a pension from the funds of the town, which was paid to him as long as the country remained under my dependence. The Austrians, who succeeded me, will, however, certainly not have continued the pension to him: learn, therefore, what is become of him; and if you find him out, let the pension be again paid to him, with the arrears.”

6th.—The Emperor's health continued to improve.—Third bath of salt-water, in which Napoleon remained an hour, and then went into the garden. He was weak, and could

hardly support himself. He sat down near the pond, which was the usual object and limit of his walks. He would remain there for hours together, amusing himself by following the motion of the fishes, throwing bread to them, studying their manners, taking an interest in their loves and their quarrels, and endeavouring with real anxiety to find out the relations that exist between us and them. He pointed them out to our observation, enumerated them to us, and often sent for us to communicate his remarks. Unfortunately these little creatures were attacked with vertigoes; they struggled, floated on the water, and perished one after the other. Napoleon was deeply affected by this circumstance.—“You see very well,” said he, “that there is a fatality attached to me. Every thing I love, every thing that belongs to me, is immediately struck: heaven and mankind unite to persecute me.”

From that moment, neither weather nor sickness could prevent him from going daily to visit them himself; and he told me to see whether there were no means of assisting and saving them. I could not conceive whence proceeded this singular mortality, and examined whether it was caused by the water; but the examination was too slow for the Emperor's im-

patience, and he sent for me several times every day, and despatched me to ascertain whether others had perished. I went, and must confess that I experienced a lively satisfaction when I was enabled to inform him that they were all alive. At last I discovered the cause of this accident which grieved Napoleon so much: we had cemented the bottom of the basin with a mastich containing a great proportion of copper, which had poisoned the water and destroyed the fishes. We took out those that were still alive, and put them into a tub.

7th.—Same state as yesterday.—Fourth bath of salt-water.—The Emperor rode out in the park.

8th.—The Emperor continued better.—Fifth bath of salt-water.—Ride in the park in calash.

9th and 10th.—Napoleon was tolerably well on the preceding day; but he had passed the night reading newspapers, and was extremely weak and languid. — Bath of salt-water, in which he remained half an hour.

11th and 12th.—The state of the patient's health, which on the preceding day had been very unfavourable, had now become still worse. He was melancholy and oppressed, and experienced a great prostration of strength, disgust,

a sensation of heaviness, and flatulencies in the abdomen. *The pain in the liver* recommenced with renewed violence, and extended towards the epigastric region. To these symptoms were superadded a rather acute pain along the spine and in the left shoulder, a stubborn state of costiveness, and a pulse low and nervous.—Bath of salt-water of three quarters of an hour—enema—frictions on the spine and the left shoulder, with a liniment composed of ammoniac; which produced an excellent result.

13th.—The state of the Emperor's strength was not much more favourable than yesterday. He felt an unconquerable drowsiness, but his pulse was regular. He took a little food, and at two P. M. his usual bath of salt-water.—Continuation of the frictions on the spine and the left shoulder.

14th.—After the bath of salt-water the Emperor felt stronger and in better spirits, and ate with tolerable appetite.—Frictions, with the usual liniment.

Napoleon again took up the subject of Italy, and spoke at length of Oriani. "He is the "greatest geometrician that ever existed!" Napoleon had treated him with great dis-



inction, protected him, and recommended him to Brune when he went out on his expedition to Egypt. He had taken pleasure in testifying publicly the respect he entertained for his learning, by writing to him immediately after he had entered Milan ; thus honouring in his person all those who cultivate sciences in Italy :—

“ Head-quarters of Milan, 5th Prairial, IVth Year  
of the Republic (24th May, 1796.)

“ BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE  
ARMY OF ITALY, TO THE CITIZEN ORIANI,  
ASTRONOMER.

“ Sciences which honour the human mind, arts which embellish life and transmit great actions to posterity, are entitled to special protection in republics. All men of genius, all those who have obtained a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, in whatever country they may be born.

“ Learned men have not hitherto enjoyed in Milan the consideration due to them. Retired in their closets, they deemed themselves fortunate when kings and priests would condescend not to molest them. This is no longer the case; the mind has become free in Italy . . . . inquisitions, intolerance, and despots no longer

exist in that country. I invite the learned to unite together, and make known to me their views respecting the measures to be adopted, to give to science and to the fine arts fresh vigour and a new existence. All those who choose to go to France will receive a distinguished welcome from the Government. The French nation attaches a greater value to the acquisition of a learned mathematician, a painter of repute, or a man eminent in his profession, whatever it may be, than of the finest and most flourishing city.

“ I therefore request, Citizen, that you will be the medium through which these sentiments are conveyed to the men distinguished for their learning in Milan.”

Napoleon had preserved a most particular recollection of this celebrated man; he often spoke of him, and took pleasure in relating the details of the first audience he had given him. He described Oriani's timidity and embarrassment at the sight of the stately retinue of the staff, which quite dazzled him, and the trouble he had had to restore to him confidence and composure. “ ‘ You are here with your friends ;  
“ we honour learning, and only wish to shew the  
“ respect we entertain for it.’—‘ Ah ! General,  
“ excuse me, but this pomp and splendour quite

“ overpower me; I am not accustomed to witness  
“ them.’ ” He, however, recovered his self-possession, and held with Napoleon a long conversation, which produced in his mind a feeling of surprise which he could not for a long time overcome. He was unable to conceive how it was possible to have acquired, at the age of twenty-six, so much glory and science: the General was to him an inexplicable phenomenon.

In praising the astronomer the Emperor mentioned the name of M——. “ As for that man, Sire, all the indulgence of your Majesty..... ” —  
“ Yes, I know it; he was only faithful after a  
“ victory. Berthier had often pointed him out  
“ to me: but who would not have become refractory with so weak a man as Berthier?  
“ When I asked him whether he would be the  
“ sport of a few busy intermeddling fellows,  
“ and whether he was not General-in-chief,  
“ ‘ No ! ’ he would answer; ‘ you know very  
“ well that even here (at Genoa) I have not  
“ ceased to be the chief of your staff.’ ”

15th.—The Emperor took his usual bath. Three enemias produced an excellent effect; but the patient complained of a sensation of heaviness in the abdomen, and the *pain proceeding from the liver* extended to both shoulders.

16th.—At eleven o'clock A. M. the Emperor went down into the garden. He was weak and unable to walk; I supported him: he reached a chair, and seeming to recover after a long and painful effort, “Well, Doctor, here am I then at my last cast! No more energy or strength left; I bend under the load.” I was going to answer him, but he was before-hand with me. “I shall recover, of course? A doctor would sooner die than not assure a man at the last extremity that he is not ill.”—“No, Sire; but when the principle of life is still entire .....”—“It is no longer so; I am going, I feel that my hour is come.”—“Your Majesty has not yet reached the term of your existence, if you will only condescend to .....”—“Do what? Take pills? or a decoction of bark, like at Mantua?”—“No, Sire, much less like at Venice.”—“How so, Venice! Your corpses have then been constantly on the look-out?”\* Probably they also told you the number of patients towards whom I had recourse to coercive measures?”—“No, Sire; I only heard of lint, vinegar, and camphorated brandy, which the Venetian authorities were to supply, and the generals of division cause to be admi-

\* See page 225.

nistered.”—“It was necessary to provide for the moveable hospitals .....”—“And to cure the sick and wounded.”—“What an obstinate man, with his eternal medicines! Doctor, we will think about it.” He rose, and I supported him again back to the house.

He took a bath, in which he remained an hour. The atony became general; the pain in the liver was violent, and extended to the epigastric region. The stomach was distended by flatulencies, producing frequent insipid ructations. Pulse low and nervous.

17th.—Napoleon’s health nearly in the same state. At ten o’clock he took a bath.

18th.—The Emperor was labouring under a deep depression of spirits and faculties. He experienced continual insipid eructations, and complained of acute pain in the epigastric region. An issue was opened on the left arm, the incision for which did not produce a single drop of blood. The salt-water baths suspended for the present.

19th.—The Emperor went to look at his fishes, took a turn in the garden, and afterwards went out in the calash; but he returned back before he had reached the park.

The bandages of the issue were deranged; I

replaced them. The patient ate with tolerable appetite ; the functions of the stomach appeared less deranged.

The Emperor no longer had any strength or energy left : he was overpowered by the want of sleep, and experienced a degree of lassitude which he could not overcome. “ Doctor, what a  
“ delightful thing rest is ! The bed is become for  
“ me a place of luxury ; I would not exchange  
“ it for all the thrones in the world. What an  
“ alteration ! How fallen am I ! I, whose ac-  
“ tivity was boundless, whose mind never slum-  
“ bered, am now plunged in a lethargic stupor,  
“ and must make an effort even to raise my  
“ eyelids ! I sometimes dictated upon different  
“ subjects to four or five secretaries, who wrote  
“ as fast as words could be uttered : but then I  
“ was Napoleon ; now I am no longer any thing ;  
“ my strength, my faculties forsake me ; I do  
“ not live, I merely exist.”

20th.—The Emperor was absorbed in profound melancholy, and did not pronounce a single word.

21st and 22d.—Napoleon appeared still labouring under the same depression of spirits. He ate very little, and consented to resume the salt-water baths.

23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th. — Same state as the preceding days. — Salt-water baths.

27th. — The Emperor was in a gloomy mood. I examined the issue, and found it in a state of putrefaction ; I washed it with wine mixed with tepid water. — Usual bath.

28th. — Napoleon was extremely dejected, and complained of a violent head-ach, and of a pain in the liver, accompanied by a sensation of heaviness (*douleur gravative au foie*), — such were his expressions. He took some food, and found himself a little better. At three P. M. he ate with more than his usual appetite, and at four went out in the calash ; but after having driven very slowly in the park for a short time, he was seized with violent nausea, and soon after vomited all the food he had taken. — State of stubborn costiveness. — Usual bath. — The patient took two tonic pills.

29th. — At seven in the morning the Emperor took two tonic pills. At three P. M. he was seized, immediately after his repast, with a dry cough extremely fatiguing. He attributed it to the use of the pills, and took advantage of that pretence to proscribe them entirely. — Continual state of somnolency. — The patient re-

mained late in bed, rose, and went out in the calash for an hour.—Usual bath.

30th.—The Emperor was in the same state as yesterday, with the exception of the cough, which had ceased. He refused to take any remedy, even a bath. I attempted to combat his resolution. “What hopes can I entertain?  
“What beneficial effect can I expect from medicines? Doctor! nothing useless should be  
“done.”

Dec. 1st.—The Emperor was a little better: he rode out in the calash. I endeavoured to revive his recollections, by speaking to him of the effect produced by his return from Egypt. “It is true,” said he, “that it was incalculable:  
“it restored confidence to the troops, and hope  
“to the generals, who, condemned, dismissed,  
“beaten, only aspired to avenge their defeats,  
“and to escape from the ignominious yoke of a  
“handful of lawyers who were hastening France  
“to her ruin. I appeared to them like the  
“Messiah; every one hailed my arrival with  
“blessings. But the man of all others to whom  
“it was most acceptable (because he lamented  
“most deeply the misfortunes of our country,)  
“was Championet: he immediately wrote to



“ the Directory, and tendered his resignation.

“ Look for his letter.” I did so, and read,—

“ Head-quarters, Coni, 4th October, 1799.

“ CHAMPIONET, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO THE  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

“ I have just heard in an authentic manner, Citizens Directors, of the safe arrival of General Bonaparte in France, and I have hastened to communicate this intelligence to the army of Italy, by an order of the day. It has diffused joy and hope in every heart, and I am certain that the army will again march from victory to victory, if it is again guided by that hero. His name carries terror in the ranks of the enemy, and doubles the courage of our soldiers. It is for him to raise up the prostrate tree of liberty on the spot where he himself planted it, and to make the tyrant of Austria tremble a second time upon his tottering throne. In requesting you, Citizens Directors, in the name of our country, of the army, and of the liberty of Italy, to entrust the command of the army to General Bonaparte, I beg you will accept my resignation. The burthen is too heavy for me; and I shall be sufficiently rewarded for all the efforts I have hitherto made to assure the

triumph of the republic, and the liberty of my countrymen, if I can again contribute to render our dear country free and happy.

“CHAMPIONET.”

2d.—The Emperor was in a state of deep languor, and complained very much of the pain occasioned by the issue, which, however, presented a satisfactory appearance.

3d.—Napoleon evidently much better.

4th.—Same state.

5th and 6th.—The Emperor's health goes on improving.

7th.—He was well; and applied himself during two successive hours to serious occupations, without experiencing the least inconvenience. At nine o'clock, as the weather was fine, he expressed a wish to take an airing in the open calash; but having been too much exposed to the heat of the sun, he came back extremely tired, and with a violent head-ach. I advised a pediluvium. He then told me that he had been suffering for the last three days with a kind of strangury.—Tepid bath of half an hour's duration. Towards evening the patient experienced an acute pain in the head. He was in a state of profound melancholy, and almost continual

somnolency. Pulse weak and nervous—general sensation of ailing.

8th.—The Emperor was a little better ; but he was still gloomy and restless. I endeavoured to divert his mind by recalling the recollection of men who had, I knew, been dear to him. I pronounced the name of Dessaix.—“ Dessaix !  
“ he was full of devotedness, generous, and tor-  
“ mented by the passion of glory : his death  
“ was one of the calamities that befel me.” He stopped. I was at a loss how to renew the conversation. I hazarded a word respecting the victories which this general had gained in Egypt.—“ He would have conquered any where.  
“ He was skilful, vigilant, daring ; little re-  
“ garding fatigue, and death still less : he would  
“ have gone to the end of the world in search  
“ of victory. I had, besides, chosen for him  
“ lieutenants worthy of him. Belliard was  
“ equally qualified for the cabinet and the field :  
“ he directed the irrigations, encouraged culti-  
“ vation, and dispersed the Beys ; he was agri-  
“ culturist, governor, captain, and as much  
“ dreaded by the Mamelukes as he was agree-  
“ able to the Cheiks. He commanded the van-  
“ guard of Alexandria at Cairo. He had the  
“ option of all the privations to which we were

“exposed : but nature had gifted him with an  
“undaunted courage ; the desert did not alarm  
“him. He restrained the troops which many  
“others were exciting to rebellion, and ever  
“remained devoted to the cause. I was aware  
“of his capacity and of his fidelity, and wished  
“to take him to Syria, but Dessaix remonstrated  
“against my doing so ; he was anxious to pre-  
“serve Belliard, and I therefore did not re-  
“move him. Brave Dessaix ! he was much  
“grieved at the faults committed by the Direc-  
“tory, and at the great preparations they had  
“made for offensive warfare. ‘The intelligence  
“of these reverses,’ answered he to me, when I  
“announced to him that war had again broken  
“out in Europe, ‘has not surprised me, but has  
“been the subject of considerable affliction to  
“me. It is easy to see that you are no longer  
“in that Italy where you have had such bril-  
“liant success : but you will return there ; you  
“will render the nation illustrious, whilst we  
“are dragging on a miserable existence in the  
“midst of the Arabs. Who will know the  
“greatness of your ideas ? Who will appre-  
“ciate your generous intentions ? That war  
“of Germany is a horrible thing : I am quite  
“enraged at not being there. Think of us, of

“ our situation, our passion for glory ; but first  
“ of all save France.’—I was not sorry to have  
“ his approbation, and I set out : you know  
“ the result.”

15th.—The Emperor went out in the calash, but returned extremely tired, and suffering with nervous agitation. He could not enjoy a single moment of tranquillity ; but after having taken a calming draught, he found himself better during the remainder of the day.

16th.—Napoleon had passed a night of excessive agitation, and was still labouring under extreme depression of spirits. At about three o'clock he took a tepid bath, in which he remained until four. He was weak and dejected : he attempted to walk about the drawing-room, but his legs bent under his weight, and he was obliged to sit down.—“ They are exhausted,” said he, with an expression of sorrow ; “ see,” (he was feeling them) “ there is nothing left : “ mere skeletons.” I endeavoured to persuade him that their emaciated state was a consequence of the disease, and did not prognosticate any thing as to the final result.—“ No, Doctor ; “ every thing must have a term : I am fast approaching mine, and I do not regret it, for I “ have, indeed, no reason to be attached to life.”

17th.—The Emperor had again experienced violent agitations during the night, head-ach, and pain in the abdomen; gloomy and peevish mood. The state of languor less apparent than on the preceding days.

18th.—Alternations of improvement and relapse were continual until the 28th.

25th.—Extreme prostration of strength. The Emperor passed a bad night, and one of great agitation. He complained of an acute pain, which extended from the right hypochondriac to the epigastric region. The abdomen was hard and swelled, head heavy and painful, pulse low and nervous.

I had long begged of Napoleon to allow his teeth to be cleaned, and he at last agreed. They were so loaded with tartar, this substance had so insinuated itself between the teeth, the gums, and the sockets, that the former were almost entirely detached. The four inferior incisors were entirely isolated, and no longer held.

26th.—The Emperor had passed a better night; but he persisted in remaining two hours in the bath, and found himself rather incommoded from it. He perused with great avidity the newspapers which had arrived from Europe;

and in them he read the death of his sister, Princess Eliza. This intelligence threw him into a state of stupor. He was in his arm-chair, his head hanging down on his breast, motionless, like one a prey to violent grief: deep sighs escaped at intervals from his breast; he raised his eyes, cast them down again, fixing them alternately upon me and the ground, and looking fixedly at me without uttering a single word. At last he extended his arm towards me, and I felt his pulse. It was weak and irregular. I wished him to take a little orange-flower water, but he did not seem to have heard me. I entreated him to go out and breathe the open air in the garden.—“Do you think,” said he, in a low and altered tone of voice, “that it can relieve me from the state of oppression under which I am labouring?”—“I do, Sire; and, at the same time, I again entreat your Majesty to use also the beverage I have proposed to you.” He consented, and after having tasted it, a considerable quantity of gas escaped from his mouth; his sighs became less frequent and less deep, and he was seized with hiccups. I again presented the glass to him: he drank a second time, and felt relieved. —“You wish me to go into the garden:

“be it so.” He rose with difficulty; and leaning on my arm, “I am very weak,” said he; “my trembling legs can hardly support me.”

The weather was beautiful. We went as far as the summer-house, and he attempted to walk a few paces; but his strength failed, and he was obliged to sit down upon a bench which was near us. “Ah! Doctor, how tired I am! I must, however, own that the oppression is considerably diminished. The orange-flower water which you have given me has detached that superabundance of gas which fatigued me, and I feel that the pure air I breathe does me good. I had never, to this day, experienced any pain in the stomach or the bowels, and I did not know that air could lodge there in such considerable quantity. It is true, that having never been ill, and never having taken any medicines, I am not likely to know much of these matters, and the state I am now in appears to me so extraordinary, that I can hardly conceive it.” He was silent for a few minutes, and then resumed: “The papers announce that Princess Eliza died of a nervous fever, and that she has appointed Jerome guardian of her children. What do physicians understand by nervous fever?”—I



told him.—“ Did you know Princess Eliza when  
“ she was Grand Duchess of Tuscany ?”—“ Yes,  
Sire.”—“ She had become extremely delicate, and  
“ assured me that, if she had given way to her  
“ ailings, she would have been constantly confined  
“ to her bed; and that it was only her great ac-  
“ tivity that had upheld her and kept her alive.  
“ For my part, I am of her opinion, and think  
“ that a life of activity is always favourable to  
“ health in men as well as animals. I have tried  
“ the experiment upon my own self, and you may  
“ now observe the consequences of a contrary  
“ regimen. Eliza, from her infancy, was proud  
“ and independent ; she was a match for every  
“ one of us. She was endowed with abilities, and  
“ a prodigious degree of activity, and knew the  
“ affairs of her cabinet and states as well as the  
“ most skilful diplomatist might have done. She  
“ conducted the department for foreign affairs ;  
“ and, although she felt a reluctance in being  
“ obliged to apply to my ministers, she corre-  
“ sponded directly with them, and resisted them  
“ often, and sometimes even obliged me to in-  
“ terfere in the discussions. Being, however,  
“ lively, and of acute feelings, she was easily  
“ moved ; the least obstacle or opposition was  
“ sufficient to excite her anger: but that anger

“ was almost immediately dispelled; for Eliza’s  
“ heart was excellent, generous, and elevated.  
“ She was fond of luxury, cultivated sciences  
“ and arts, and had the ambition to exercise  
“ a kind of superiority over her sisters. She  
“ wished to be above them in authority, as she  
“ was in age. I know not how far the news of  
“ her death must be credited, in the manner  
“ related in the papers; but what appears to  
“ me unfounded is, that she has appointed Je-  
“ rome guardian of her children. To render  
“ that admissible, it must be supposed that  
“ Baciocchi is either dead or absent, otherwise  
“ he is their guardian, by the right of law and  
“ nature. Have you known Prince Baciocchi?”—  
“ I have seen him sometimes, but have never  
spoken to him.”—“What was the opinion enter-  
“ tained of him at Florence?”—“ He was looked  
upon as a good kind of man, who did not apply  
himself much to affairs, and only sought to enjoy  
the advantages of his situation.”—“That opi-  
“ nion was a correct one. He was always very  
“ fond of a retired life, and never liked to  
“ trouble himself about any thing but his own  
“ person. His peaceable disposition formed a sin-  
“ gular contrast with the active unquiet spirit  
“ of Princess Eliza. Do you know how many

“ children she has left ? ” — “ She was delivered of a pretty little girl in Tuscany, and of a boy in the Venetian States. I do not know whether she has had any children since.”

The Emperor rose, leant upon my arm, and looking steadfastly at me, said: “ You see, Doctor, Eliza has just shewn us the way. Death, which seemed to have overlooked my family, now begins to strike it: my turn cannot be very far distant ; what think you ? ” — “ Your Majesty is not yet near the term of your existence ; you are still destined for some glorious enterprise.” — “ Ah ! Doctor, you are young, full of health ; but I ! I have no longer any strength, activity, or energy left ; I am no longer Napoleon. You endeavour in vain to revive hope — to recall life on the point of escaping. Your care is without avail against fate ; its decrees are immutable, its decisions without appeal. The first person of our family who will follow Eliza to the grave, is that great Napoleon, who here drags on a miserable existence, who sinks under its weight ; but who, however, still keeps Europe in a state of alarm. It is thus, Doctor, that I consider my present situation. Young as you are, you have a long career before you ; but

“ for me, all is over ; and I repeat that my  
“ days will soon end on this miserable rock !”

We returned into the house, and Napoleon went to bed. “ Let the windows be closed, Doctor, and leave me : I will send for you presently.” He did send ; and I found him greatly depressed in spirits : he was speaking of his son, and of Maria Louisa. Such a conversation was painful, and I endeavoured to give it another turn, and recall to his mind recollections which did not appeal painfully to his feelings. “ I understand you, Doctor : well ! be it so ; let us forget—if, indeed, the heart of a father can forget.”

27th.—The Emperor was labouring under a deep depression of spirits.

28th.—Same state as the preceding day. Head-ach — frequent and insipid ructations—nausea—dry and nervous cough. I ordered a calming draught.

29th.—The Emperor nearly in the same state ; the cough had, however, in a measure subsided : the pulse was low and irregular.

30th.—Napoleon was much worse : he was seized with a general shivering, and experienced alternations of heat and cold. His pulse was weak and nervous, deglutition difficult—intole-

able head-ach.—“ Well, Doctor, how do you  
“ find me ? What do you think of the state in  
“ which I am ?”—“ That it is not alarming ;  
that it is improving, and that your Majesty  
would be quite well if you would consent to  
take a medicine very simple in itself.”—“ What  
“ is it ?”—“ Some syrup of ether.”—“ What is  
“ syrup of ether ?” I explained it to him.  
“ What effect does it produce ?” I told him.  
“ You are quite sure of it ?”—“ Yes, Sire.”—  
“ Well, let me have some : make haste !” I  
gave him a spoonful of it ; he took it, and  
found himself relieved, but the medicine left  
a taste in his mouth : that was quite enough,  
he would have no more of it.

31st.—The Emperor was rather better ; but  
having remained two hours in a tepid bath, he  
was indisposed the remainder of the day, and  
all the morbid symptoms of the preceding  
day reappeared. I entreated Napoleon to take  
another dose of syrup of ether, but he refused :  
I insisted—he grew impatient, and told me it  
was labour lost. “ But, Sire, the effects are so  
evident.”—“ Evident indeed ! I did not close  
“ my eyes a single moment : I never passed so  
“ bad a night.”—“ The action of this medicine  
“ is so mild.”—“ It may be, for stomachs accus-

“tomed to physic; but mine is yet undefiled,  
“and a stranger to medicines: the mere  
“effluvia arising from your drugs is sufficient  
“to contract it. Apply on the exterior every  
“remedy you think proper, I have no objec-  
“tion; but to introduce into my body a mass  
“of preparations and ingredients capable of  
“destroying the strongest constitution, is what  
“I never will consent to: I will not have two  
“diseases; one given by nature, and the other  
“by the physician.”

January 1st, 1821.

The health of the Emperor did not present any apparent improvement.

2d.—I saw Napoleon at eight o'clock A. M., and found him a little better. He was in bed; and, wishing to give a little air to the room, I opened the window, in doing which it slipped from my hand; I sought to seize it, wounded myself, and the blood began to flow. The Emperor saw it, and jumped out of bed. “Doctor, you have cut your hand! Quick! a  
“physician! Run for the English surgeons!  
“Wounds are dangerous in this climate: you  
“know that the least delay may be mortal.  
“Hasten, some of you, to the camp.”

The wound was indeed serious enough : the tendons extensors of the three last fingers were almost severed ; but I felt so affected and confused on seeing the anxiety manifested by Napoleon, that I thought much more of quieting his apprehensions than of dressing my own wound : this I, however, did. I had to suffer fever, and a general sensation of indisposition ; and after three or four days' confinement found myself again able to attend the Emperor, who had been unremitting in demonstrations of interest and solicitude.

5th.—The Emperor had been for the last three days in the same situation, neither better nor worse. He took two pills, each composed of three grains of watery extract of bark and a quarter of a grain of opium of Beaumé.

6th.—The pulse was more favourable, and the Emperor found himself better and ate with appetite. State of extreme costiveness, which three enemas were insufficient to remove.

7th.—The patient passed a tolerable night : at daybreak took an enema, which afforded relief. Pulse low and nervous—heaviness in the abdomen—general agitation. I prescribed four tonic pills ; two at night and two in the morning.

8th.—The Emperor took the tonic pills, but his health did not improve.

9th.—Same state as yesterday. The Emperor only took two tonic pills.

10th.—I presented the pills to the Emperor, but he refused to take them any more. “The effect they produce is so evident,” said he, “that it is not worth while to continue them : put them by ; I have a superabundance of health since I have taken them. If I must die, I wish to die of disease.” I was going to answer, but he resumed. “I know you will tell me that time is necessary, and it is always safe to appeal to time. But were tonic pills known to Hippocrates or Galen ? Had they tried their marvellous virtues ? Ah ! Doctor, life is a mystery, which you vainly endeavour to penetrate ! you see no more in it than they did ; and they saw no more than you do. Let us cease to grope our way blindfold, and trust to nature ; that is much better.”

14th.—The Emperor was better ; he ate with appetite, and rode out in the calash in the park.

22d.—Napoleon's health had evidently improved since the 14th ; his strength and appetite returned, and he continued to take exercise in the garden and the park. I often



attempted to induce him to take some medicines to complete his cure ; but I never could succeed. “ The devil take your medicines,” said he at last ; “ I have already told you a hundred times “ that they would not do for me. I know my “ disease and my constitution better than you “ and all the physicians in the world. If I “ can perspire, and the wounds in my thigh “ open anew, I am cured. Yes, Doctor, give “ me strength to go three or four leagues on “ horseback without stopping, and to continue “ the same exercise during fifteen or twenty “ successive days, and you will see what health “ I shall enjoy. Suppose that instead of being “ Napoleon, I was one of the poor devils of this “ island, and that by dint of thrashing and horse- “ whipping about the legs I was forced to run “ about and work like them, should I not be “ soon well again ? Should I not perspire con- “ siderably ? Would not the equilibrium be “ soon restored ? Should I not recover my “ health ? ” The more he spoke, the more he exalted his idea of the extraordinary power of the human will. “ You seem not to believe me, “ Doctor ; but tell me, if I were at this moment “ in presence of a lion, a tiger, or a bear, and I “ had no other means of escape than flight, do

“ you think that my strength would not sudden-  
“ ly return; that my legs would not obey the  
“ impulse of my will, and that my nerves would  
“ not answer the appeal of nature, to save me  
“ from danger? At this very moment, whilst  
“ I am speaking to you, I feel in me something  
“ that electrifies me, and induces me to believe  
“ that the machine would still act in obedience  
“ to my sensations and to my will; and is that  
“ not a stimulus fully equal to the fear of horse-  
“ whipping? Well! what do you think about  
“ it now, *Dottoraccio di Capo Corso*?” continued  
he, pulling my ears. “ Come, am I not right?”  
I replied, that his remedies might be excellent,  
but that they were capable of killing the strong-  
est men, and that as they were not to be found  
in the *Pharmacopœia* I could not recommend  
them to him. The Emperor laughed, and then  
began to argue respecting his disease, and the  
treatment proper to be used for it. “ I am  
“ certain,” said he, “ that to commit an excess  
“ would restore the equilibrium in my frame.  
“ My curative system has never been to take  
“ medicines, but to observe diet during one or  
“ two days, or to commit some excess in op-  
“ position with my usual habits. Thus, for  
“ instance, if I had been too long resting, I

“ took a long ride on horseback, or hunted for  
“ a whole day without stopping. If I had been  
“ undergoing too much fatigue, I remained quiet  
“ during twenty-four hours or longer; and I  
“ assure you that my method has never failed,  
“ and that the shock always produced a favour-  
“ able result. It is true also that a constitution  
“ like mine is seldom to be met with. When I  
“ wished to sleep, I slept, be the place or the  
“ hour what they might; when I happened to  
“ drink or to eat too much, my stomach rejected  
“ the superfluous portion; in a word, my nature  
“ was not like that of all men. All that is  
“ now gone; I feel it; but am not yet without  
“ resource.” Then after a pause he exclaimed,  
“ Will you not say at last, *Dottoraccio Maledetto*,  
“ that I am right? Is my medicine not pre-  
“ ferable to yours?” I replied that undoubtedly  
his system was good, since he had in its fa-  
vour a constantly successful experience, but that  
in his present situation the case might be very  
different: His Majesty was now really ill, and  
his disease required the use of internal remedies  
to cure it and re-establish his health: that he  
ought to lead a quiet life, take moderate exercise,  
and in proportion to his strength, and that any  
excess could only be productive of fatal con-  
sequences. “ We have it now,” said he laugh-

ing ; “ these devils of physicians are all alike ;  
“ when they wish to bring their patient to do a  
“ thing, they deceive him and frighten him. Is  
“ it not so, *Dottoraccio* ? ” (slightly striking me  
with his hand.) “ Well, then, we will obey the  
“ orders of medicine.”

He was, however, so fully convinced of the excellency of his system, and so full of confidence in the favourable results that would follow a violent and sudden alteration in his way of living, that he resolved to try the experiment. He therefore ordered his horse to be saddled, galloped about the old limits of Longwood, and rode no less than five or six miles. He was followed only by his *chasseur* Noverraz, and his *pi-queur*. But this violent exercise did not produce the effect he had anticipated ; no perspiration took place, and he even found himself much indisposed. He repeated the attempt three or four times, and with as little success : in fact, he was rather worse than better. “ I now see,” said he, with a tone of affliction, “ that my strength  
“ forsakes me ; Nature no longer answers as  
“ formerly to the appeals of my will ; violent  
“ shocks are no longer suited to my debilitated  
“ frame : but I shall attain the end I propose  
“ by moderate exercise.”

23d.—The Emperor was labouring under a profound depression of spirits; he still felt persuaded that exercise would save him, and lamented his situation, which did not allow him to take any. “If, at least, I could bear the calash; but the jerks give me nausea, and the motion of riding on horseback is worse still.”—“Sire,” said General Montholon, “perhaps the see-saw would do you good, if your Majesty were to try?”—“True! the see-saw, perhaps; I will try: have one arranged.” This was immediately done; but this motion produced no favourable effect, and he soon gave it up.

24th.—Napoleon was still very much dejected: he spoke of his health; complained of weakness and nervous irritation. I asked him to allow me to feel his pulse, and he extended his arm with indifference, saying, “A general might as well *listen*, in order to ascertain how his army is manœuvring.” When I had done he withdrew his arm. “Well, what does the pulse indicate?”—“That your strength is returning, and that your Majesty is going to be better.”—“Of course! I feel a repugnance for every thing; every thing inspires me with disgust; my stomach cannot bear the lightest solid substance; but still I am going to be

“ better! Doctor, do not attempt to deceive  
“ me; I can die!”

25th.—The Emperor was plunged in the deepest melancholy. He experienced nervous agitations, was weak, and felt himself *ill, very ill*.

26th.—Napoleon was much better, and his spirits were consequently much less depressed. He only complained of slight attacks of colic, which were soon dispelled.

He had heard, a few days before, the details of the Spanish revolution. That event did not appear to surprise him much; he had foreseen it, and merely said to us, “ Ferdinand is a man  
“ incapable of governing himself, and, *à fortiori*,  
“ the Peninsula. With respect to the Constitu-  
“ tion of the Cortes, it is in opposition with the  
“ dogmas of the Holy Alliance; it strikes at  
“ the foundation of the prejudices and interests  
“ of devotees, and cannot therefore last long.  
“ Those who have promulgated it have nei-  
“ ther the strength nor the means necessary to  
“ maintain it.”

The intelligence of the events at Naples produced a greater effect, and put him in good spirits. “ As for that revolution,” said he, “ I  
“ must confess I did not expect it. Who would  
“ ever have supposed that a set of *Maccheronai*

“ would ape the Spaniards, proclaim their principles, and rival them in courage?” Then, quitting the tone of pleasantry, “ No doubt,” said he to us, “ that of the two Ferdinands one is not better than the other ; but the question does not turn upon them—it is upon their respective nations ; and between these there is so great a difference in point of energy and elevation of sentiments, that either the Neapolitans are mad, or this movement of theirs is the forerunner of a general insurrection : for, in presence as they are of the rulers of Italy, what can they do if they are not supported by some great nation ? If they are, I applaud their patriotism ; but if it be otherwise, how much I pity my good and dear Italians ! They will be immolated, and the sacrifice of their generous blood will not benefit the beautiful soil which gave them birth ; I pity them ! Unfortunate people ! they are distributed in groups, divided, separated among a parcel of princes who only serve to excite aversions, to dissolve the ties which unite them, and to prevent them from agreeing together, and co-operating with each other for the attainment of their common liberty. It was that *tribe-like* spirit I was endeavouring

“ to destroy ; it was with a view to gain this  
“ object that I annexed part of Italy to France,  
“ and formed a kingdom of the other part. I  
“ wished to eradicate local habits, partial and  
“ narrow views, to model the inhabitants after  
“ our manners, to accustom them to our laws ;  
“ then to unite them together, and restore them  
“ to the ancient glory of Italy. I proposed to  
“ make of all these States, thus agglomerated, a  
“ compact and independent power, over which  
“ my second son would have reigned, and of  
“ which Rome, restored and embellished, would  
“ have been the capital. I should have removed  
“ Murat from Naples ; and from the sea to the  
“ Alps only one sway would have been acknow-  
“ ledged. I had already begun the execution  
“ of that plan, which I had formed with a view  
“ to the interest of Italy ; workmen were al-  
“ ready engaged in clearing Rome of its ruins,  
“ and in draining the Pontine Marshes : but  
“ war, the circumstances in which I was placed,  
“ and the sacrifices I was obliged to ask of the  
“ people, did not allow me to do for them what  
“ I wished. Such were, my dear Doctor, the  
“ motives which stopped me. I saw, in 1814,  
“ the fault, the great fault, I had committed ;  
“ but the hour of reverses was come, and the



“ evil was irreparable. Had I had time to  
“ carry my projects and intentions into effect, I  
“ should not have fallen; I should not have been  
“ exiled to the island of Elba, and still less  
“ thrown upon this rock. Ah! Doctor, what  
“ recollections, what epochs, that beautiful Italy  
“ recalls to my mind! Methinks the moment  
“ is only just gone by when I took the com-  
“ mand of the army that conquered it. I was  
“ young like you, I possessed your vivacity,  
“ your ardour, I felt the consciousness of my  
“ powers, and burned to enter the lists. I had  
“ already given proofs of what I could do: my  
“ aptitude was not contested, but my youth  
“ displeased those old soldiers who had grown  
“ grey on the field of battle. Perceiving this,  
“ I felt the necessity of compensating this dis-  
“ advantage by an austerity of principles from  
“ which I never departed. Brilliant actions  
“ were required to conciliate the affection and  
“ confidence of the military, and I performed  
“ some: we marched, and every thing vanished  
“ at our approach. My name was soon as dear  
“ to the people as to the soldiers; I could not  
“ be insensible to this unanimity of homage,  
“ and became indifferent to every thing that  
“ was not glory. The air resounded with ac-

“clamations on my passage; every thing was  
“at my disposal; all were at my feet: but I  
“only thought of my brave soldiers, of France,  
“and posterity! It was in vain that the  
“beautiful Italian ladies displayed all their at-  
“tractions; I remained unmoved by their se-  
“ductions. They consoled themselves with  
“my suite; and one of them, Countess C——,  
“left Louis, at our passage through Brescia,  
“a token of her favours which he will long  
“recollect.”

Seven A. M.—The Emperor was in bed, alternately dosing and waking: he afterwards went out, took a ride in the calash for an hour, came in very tired, and fell asleep on his sofa.

At seven P. M. bilious evacuations, accompanied by slight pains of colic. Napoleon had scarcely taken any thing the whole day.—Pulse weak and nervous.

27th.—The Emperor had passed a very bad night.—Extreme weakness — pulse low and slightly nervous — dry cough — countenance gloomy.

I ventured to propose a prescription, but Napoleon grew impatient, and manifested the greatest aversion to every kind of medicine. At seven P. M. he was in bed; he had dined

at six, but his stomach rejected the food he had eaten, almost immediately after.

28th.—Extreme prostration of strength—eyes livid and nearly extinct—dry and nervous cough—mouth parched—distressing thirst—painful sensation in the stomach.

29th.—Same state.---Deep melancholy.

30th.---The Emperor's health was in a deplorable state; but his sufferings only tended to increase his aversion to all medicines. I endeavoured in vain to combat and overcome his repugnance: he resisted, promised, eluded; and at the very moment when I thought I had obtained what I wished, I found that I had not gained any thing. I was overwhelmed with the spectacle of this great man consuming before my eyes; grief at seeing the remedy at hand, and not being able to apply it, affection, regret—all these sentiments agitated my mind; my strength was exhausted. Napoleon perceived it, and said to me, "You are not well; you are suffering; you are sinking under some disease. Are you also doomed to fall a victim to this horrible climate? Courage! I will send for a physician from Europe to assist you." I was so overjoyed at this resolution, that I did not allow myself sufficient

leisure to weigh my answer. “ Ah ! Sire,” replied I with emotion, “ make haste, then, whilst it is yet time.”—“ Whilst it is yet time ! What do you mean ? Is it you that are to die before he arrives, or I ? If such is my fate, be it so : but in no case will I consult, or see, the English physicians who are in the island : I would rather suffer than see them round me. Besides, of what use could they be to me ? I have placed my confidence in you—you take an interest in me : I judge of your attachment by your zeal, and am grateful for the care you take of me ; but, dear Doctor, if my hour is come, if it is written above that I am to die, neither you nor all the physicians in the world can alter the decree.” In saying these words his eyes were raised towards heaven, and the sound of his voice was elevated and sonorous : I could not master my emotion, and withdrew. I had a violent fever, and was for several days unable to attend him. At last, as he wished to see me, I made an effort and went to him. I found him in bed, complaining of an intolerable pain proceeding from the left hypochondriac region, and extending on one side up to the corresponding shoulder, and on the other to the lumbar region. He experienced great

difficulty in breathing, and the abdomen was considerably distended.—Ordered fomentations, an enema, and an anodyne draught: the latter produced frequent and insipid eructations.

Feb. 11th.—The Emperor had passed a good night, and at six in the morning took a rice-soup: The symptoms of the preceding day appeared again, and were again removed by the same means. In the afternoon I prescribed a bitter mixture.

12th.—Napoleon a little better this morning. He however rejected, at ten o'clock, the little food he had taken. He would hear no more of the bitter mixture.

13th.—The Emperor took a little cream and jelly. The vomiting ceased.—Spirits gloomy.

14th.—The illustrious patient was better than on the preceding day, and ate with tolerable appetite; his spirits were also considerably better.

15th.—Continued amendment. “Were you  
“at Milan, Doctor,” said he, “when I went to  
“take the iron crown?”—“No, Sire.”—“And  
“when I went to Venice?”—“I was not there  
either; but your Majesty had just planted our  
eagles on the banks of the Vistula; Italy was

intoxicated with glory ; its whole population eagerly flocked around you.”—“ It is true that  
“ I was enthusiastically received, particularly  
“ in the Lagunes. Venice had put all her gon-  
“ dolas out to sea ; nothing was seen on all  
“ sides but fringes, feathers, silks, &c. ; all that  
“ was handsome and elegant had assembled  
“ from all parts at Fusine, and never had the  
“ Adriatic witnessed so pompous a spectacle.”—  
“ That explosion of feeling was not to be won-  
dered at ; for with one hand you were driving  
the Sarmatians from a land which they had  
polluted, and with the other you were erecting  
monuments, making roads, and constructing or  
creating every where the most useful establish-  
ments. Besides, the march of your administra-  
tion was so firm and so rapid !”—“ You are  
“ right : it was an immense machine, the wheels  
“ of which were perfectly well adapted. I ex-  
“ posed their action and its cause to the Legisla-  
“ tive Body, and produced a great effect : Italy  
“ approved of the principles I developed.” I  
felt anxious to know what were the principles  
to which the Emperor was alluding ; and having  
looked for, and found, the speech he pronounced  
on the occasion referred to, I read it :—

**“ Gentlemen of the Legislative Body,” said he, “ I have taken a minute review of all the different branches of administration, and have introduced into them the same simplicity which, with the help of advice and censure, I have applied to the revision of the Constitution of Lyons. Whatever is good and grand is always the result of a system of simplicity and uniformity. I have suppressed the double organization of the departmental and prefectural administrations, because I have thought that, by entrusting the administrative duties to the prefects alone, not only a saving of one million would be effected in the expenses, but a greater rapidity would be obtained in the march of affairs. If I have placed near the prefects a council for the decision of litigious transactions; it is in conformity with the principle, that administration should be the act of one man, and the decision of litigations the act of many.**

**“ The statutes which have just been read to you extend to my people of Italy the advantages of the operation of the Code, over the framing of which I myself presided. I have directed my Council to prepare an organization of the judicial department that may give to the tribunals the importance and consideration**

I intend they shall possess. I could not approve that a pretor alone should have the power of pronouncing upon the fortunes of the community, and that judges concealed from the public view should secretly decide, not only upon their interests, but upon their lives. In the organization which will be presented to you, my Council will endeavour to bestow upon my people all the advantage resulting from collective tribunals, public proceedings, and the public defence of both parties. It is in order to secure to them an administration of justice more evidently enlightened, that I have decided that the judges who pronounce judgment shall be those who have also presided at the debates. I have not thought that the circumstances in which Italy is placed could allow me to think of the establishment of juries; but the judges are to pronounce, as juries would, upon their own conviction, and without adopting that system of semi-evidence which tends more frequently to endanger innocence than to lead to the discovery of the guilty. The surest rule to guide the judge who has presided at a trial is the conviction of his own conscience.

“ I have superintended in person the establishment of regular and secure forms in the



finances of the state, and I hope my people will feel the advantage of the order which I have directed my minister of finances and of the public treasure to introduce into the accounts, which will be published. I have consented that the public debt should bear the name of *Mont-Napoleon*, in order to give an additional security to its engagements and a renewed vigour to credit.

“ Public instruction will cease to be departmental ; I have fixed certain bases, in order to give it the unity, uniformity, and direction, which must exercise so great an influence over the manners and habits of the rising generation.

“ I have thought it advisable to begin from this year to introduce a greater degree of equality in the repartition of departmental expenditure, and to assist those of my departments, such as the departments of Mincio and Lower Po, who are suffering from the necessity of defending themselves against the devastations caused by the waters.

“ The finances are in the most prosperous condition, and no arrears exist in any of the payments of the State. My people of Italy pay less taxes than any other ; they will not be

called upon to bear any additional burthen in that respect: and if alterations have been effected in some of the contributions, if a duty for the registry of acts has been introduced in the project of the budget, upon a moderate scale, it is in order to be able to diminish taxes of a more onerous nature. The *cadastre*\* is full of imperfections, which become apparent every day; I shall endeavour to remedy those defects, and to overcome the obstacles opposed to such operations, much less by the nature of things than by private interests. I do not, however, flatter myself to obtain such results as will obviate the necessity of allowing a tax to reach its full amount.

“ I have adopted measures for bestowing on the clergy a suitable endowment, of which they have been in part deprived for the last ten years; and my object in restoring some convents, as I have done, has been to protect those who devote themselves to services of public utility, or who, placed in the interior of the country amongst the peasantry, find themselves in a situation and in circumstances to supply the place of the regular clergy. I have

\* Doomsday book.

also made such provision as will enable the bishops to be useful to the poor; and I only wait, to take into consideration the condition of the curates, until I have received the information resulting from the inquiries I have directed to be immediately made respecting their true situation. I know that many of them, particularly those living in the mountains, are in a state of poverty, which I have the most anxious wish to relieve.

“ In addition to the road of the Simplon, which will be completed this year, and on which four thousand workmen are at this moment employed for that part only which crosses the kingdom of Italy, I have ordered that the port of Velano should be begun, and that these important labours should be commenced without delay, and carried on with activity.

“ I have not neglected any of the objects respecting which my experience in matters of administration could be useful to my people; and before I repass the mountains I shall visit some of the departments, in order to be better acquainted with their wants.

“ I shall leave, as depositary of my authority, a young prince whom I have brought up from his childhood, and who will, therefore, be ani-

mated with the same spirit as myself. But I have, at the same time, made such arrangements as will bring the most important affairs of the State under my immediate direction.

“ The orators of my Council will present to you the project of a law for granting to Melzi, my chancellor and keeper of the seals, and during four years the depositary of my authority as vice-president, a domain which may remain in his family, as a testimony to his descendants of the satisfaction I have derived from his services.

“ I think I have furnished additional proofs of my undeviating resolution, to do for my people of Italy all they expect from me; I hope they will, in their turn, occupy that place in my estimation which I have intended for them; they can only do this by being thoroughly persuaded that the army is the principal prop of a State.

“ It is time that those young men who lead the idle life of cities, should cease to dread the fatigues and dangers of war, and should place themselves in a situation to be able to cause their country to be respected, if they wish it to be respectable.

“ Gentlemen of the Legislative Body, emu-

late by your zeal my Council of State; and by your joint co-operation towards the attainment of public prosperity, afford to my representative that support which he must derive from you.

“The British Government having given an evasive answer to the proposals I had made to them, and the King of England having immediately made those proposals publicly known, and insulted my people in his Parliament, the hopes I had entertained of the re-establishment of peace have considerably diminished. The French fleets have, however, since then, obtained advantages, to which I only attach some importance, because they must serve to convince my enemies of the inutility of a war, in which they can gain nothing, and may lose every thing. The divisions of the flotilla, the frigates built at the expense of the finances of my kingdom of Italy, and which now form part of the French forces, have, on several occasions, rendered beneficial services. I still hope that the peace of the Continent will not be disturbed, though my position does not allow me to dread any of the chances of war. I shall be in the midst of you, whenever my presence is necessary to the safety of my kingdom of Italy.”

19th.—Since the 15th the Emperor had successively lost and regained strength at various degrees. He was to-day suffering with flatulencies developed in the intestinal canal, and more particularly in the stomach. He could not eat any meat, and only took milky and farinaceous substances.

20th.—Tonic pill.—Sensation of uneasiness ; nervous irritation.—Cough very dry and fatiguing.

Napoleon was exhausted.—“ Well, Doctor, “ this will soon end ? ” — “ No, Sire, the irritation is subsiding. ” — “ Ever the same, Doctor ; when “ will you be tired of promising health ? ” — “ When health is come. ” — “ In that case you “ have a long while to promise. ” — “ Not so long as your Majesty supposes ; and if you will only use mineral waters . . . ” — “ Do you think “ they will allow me ? ” — “ A refusal would expose them too much ; it would be acknowledging murder ! ” — “ Poor *Capo-Corsino* ! you do “ not know them. ” — “ But if your health requires it, and the Doctor orders it, there would be too much inhumanity in a refusal. ” — “ Undoubtedly. ” — He was looking at and following a cloud which was seen at a distance.—“ What “ effect do clouds produce upon us ? What in-

“fluence do they exercise over the individual  
“who breathes them? They must every mo-  
“ment derange the equilibrium—produce a  
“muscular contraction—a tension which can  
“only be attended with fatal consequences, and  
“lead to death: for we are also governed by  
“the same laws as other bodies; fluid is con-  
“tained in our composition—we feel it by those  
“nervous irritations which denote stormy wea-  
“ther. To place a man amongst the clouds—  
“to oblige him to live in the sphere of activity,  
“of those masses which change, pass, return—  
“every moment is condemning him to experi-  
“ence a series of shocks and decompositions  
“which must soon exhaust life; it is exposing  
“him to the terrible energy of the galvanic  
“battery: am I right?” I assented. “You  
“must know, Doctor, that I am, as it were,  
“one of your profession; I know almost with  
“certainty what must result from such and  
“such a situation. For instance, a man  
“placed in a vapour-bath, and immediately  
“afterwards under the influence of excessive  
“heat, would experience a disorganization  
“analogous to that of a damp body suddenly  
“exposed to the action of fire: he would

“ become warped, would torment himself, and  
“ would soon exhaust his strength and powers.  
“ Do you not think so ?” I began to perceive the  
conclusion he was going to arrive at ; and, how-  
ever founded it was, I could not think of agreeing  
in it, as it favoured his aversion to medicines,  
and precluded all hope of recovery. I therefore  
told him that such was not the case ; that in  
a climate decidedly bad, where the transitions  
of the temperature from heat to cold were  
sudden, where the wind never ceased to blow,  
where it rained incessantly and abundantly.  
....” He did not allow me time to finish.  
“ Doctor, you are always disposed to see the  
“ bright side of every thing : take that memo-  
“ randum-book, which you see there, near my  
“ scrutoire ; it will describe to you such a  
“ climate as you are speaking of. To-day  
“ is the 20th of February—how many tolerable  
“ days have we had ?” — “ But, Sire, this year  
....”—“ Take any other, the first that comes,  
“ 1817, for instance : now I am listening.”—  
“ One, two, ....”—“ No ; do not count the  
“ days, read the statement from one end to the  
“ other ; I like to hear what climate I have  
“ borne.” I read :—



**METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,**  
*Made at Longwood during the Years 1816 and 1817.*

Date.	Morn.	Noon.	Even.	REMARKS.
	Fahr.	Fahr.	Fahr.	
1	68	71	69	Violent rain, fine weather, wind.
2	66½	70	68	Wind, rain, and fog.
3	...	69	67½	Do. do. do.
4	...	70	68	Do. do. do.
5	67	72	69	{ Fine weather in the morning; in the evening rain.
6	67½	70	67½	Wind, weather generally fine.
7	67	...	67	Do. do.
8	66½	...	68	Slight rain.
9	67½	73	69	Light wind, fine weather.
10	68	...	69	Do. do.
11	69	69	68½	Wind, rain, and fog.
12	67	...	...	Do. do.
13	...	...	67	Wind, slight rain, and fog.
14	67	...	67½	Do. do. do.
15	...	...	67	{ Wind, slight rain, and fog; in the evening much rain.
16	66	...	67½	Fog, and much rain.
17	67	72	69	Light wind, and fine weather.
18	66½	74	68½	Do. do. do.
19	68	71	69	Much rain.
20	68	71	68	Much rain, fog, and wind.
21	67½	69	...	Violent rain and fog.
22	68	72	69	Light wind, and much rain.
23	...	69	...	Light wind, much rain, and fog.
24	...	70	68	Light wind, rain, and fog.
25	67¾	...	68	Fine weather.
26	...	72	68½	Fine weather, light wind.
27	68	71	68	Fine weather, strong breezes.
28	67	70	68	High wind, rain and fog.

“ Well, Doctor ? ” — “ You are right, Sire: but  
it is not possible that every month should have

been so bad."—"Continue to read: see March,  
 "it is one of the finest months at St. Helena."  
 I again read.

Date.	Morn.	Noon.	Even.	MARCH, 1817.
	Fahr.	Fahr.	Fahr.	REMARKS.
1	68	69	68	Wind, fog, and rain.
2	67½	70	...	Do. do.
3	...	71	69	Fresh breezes, and fog.
4	...	72	...	Fresh breezes, fog, and rain.
5	67	71	67	Fresh breezes, cloudy, and slight rain.
6	68½	72	68	Wind moderate, and fine weather.
7	67	71½	69	Wind, rain, and fog.
8	67½	72	70	Do. do. do.
9	69	71	69	Slight wind, clouds, rain.
10	68	73½	71	Slight wind, fine weather.
11	69	73	71	Generally fine, light winds.
12	...	...	70	Fresh breezes, fog, and rain.
13	69½	71	69	Fresh breezes, fog, and slight rain.
14	68	72	68	Fine weather, strong wind.
15	...	71	69	Cloudy, but fine weather.
16	68½	73	70	Light wind, rain, and fog.
17	69	...	70	Do. do.
18	...	74	71	Light wind, and fine weather.
19	70½	72	69	Wind, fog, and intermittent rain.
20	68	69½	67½	Wind, fog, and much rain.
21	67	70	...	Do. do.
22	67½	69½	68½	Light wind, and rain.
23	68	69	68	Light wind, rain, and fog.
24	67½	71	68½	High wind, and fine weather.
25	68½	73½	71	Rainy weather.
26	69	71	69	Do. do.
27	...	72½	70	Do. do.
28	...	71	68	{ Rain in the morning; fine weather in the evening.
29	67	72	70½	Fine weather.
30	69	70	69	Light rain.
31	...	71	70	{ Clouds in the morning; rain in the evening.

“Are you convinced, Doctor? have you found  
“the climate you were going to describe?”—  
“Why, Sire . . . .” — “What?” — “Your Ma-  
jesty must be proof against every thing; and  
destined not to die.”—“Very well, Doctor;  
“hope is the best specific you can administer.”

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON :

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**THE LAST DAYS OF NAPOLEON.**

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**MEMOIRS**

**OF**

**THE LAST TWO YEARS**

**OF**

**NAPOLEON'S EXILE**

**BY**

**F. ANTOMMARCHI.**

**FORMING A SEQUEL**

**TO THE**

**JOURNALS OF DR. O'MEARA AND COUNT LAS CASES.**

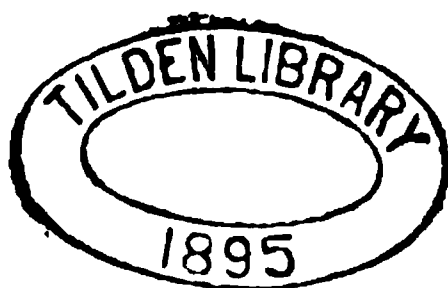
**IN TWO VOLS.**

**VOL. II.**

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**SECOND EDITION.**

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**THE**  
**LAST MOMENTS OF**  
**NAPOLEON.**

---

**21st FEBRUARY.**

**THE** Emperor's health in the same state as yesterday. He wished to eat turtle cooked after the English fashion, and refused his pills. I insisted upon his taking them; he grew impatient and bade me retire. "I cannot, Sire; I act by order."—"By order?"—"Yes, Sire."—"Of whom? who has had the insolence?"—"The General-in-chief; his instructions have just reached me." I held in my hand his own general order, dated Milan, the 22d Thermidor, Vth year of the Republic, (9th August

1797,) appointing three inspectors of hospitals, and hastened to read it to him; particularly directing his attention to the clause at the end of that document, which orders "*that it be ascertained whether the physician takes care to see his prescriptions attended to.*"

" This is one of your tricks, Doctor; but no  
" matter: you would probably also quote the  
" letter that Bertholet wrote to the Directory  
" respecting the excellent condition of our hos-  
" pitals, and the care I took of the wounded.  
" I would rather take the pills: give them to  
" me!"

26th.

The Emperor, who had been tolerably well since the 21st, had a sudden relapse. — Dry cough—vomiting—heat in the bowels—general agitation—anxiety—an almost intolerable sensation of burning heat, accompanied by parching thirst.

27th.

The Emperor still more unwell than yesterday. The cough was more violent, and he had experienced a painful nausea until seven o'clock in the morning.—Prescribed refrigerant

and paregoric beverages, calming and anodyne enemata, and a foot-bath, which produced a favourable effect. It was now one o'clock A. M. and Napoleon had only taken, during the whole day, three small quantities of broth, two eggs, a little cream, and a glass of claret diluted with a great deal of water. He slept four successive hours, and remained in his apartment, the windows of which were hermetically closed: towards evening, however, he changed both his room and his bed. At three, P. M. I administered two spoonfuls of anodyne emulsion, which calmed the cough a little, and a tonic pill.

The Emperor felt better; and old recollections recurring to his mind, he spoke in terms of praise and kindness of the brave men who followed his fortune and contributed to his success at the outset of his career. “Steingel was impetuous and indefatigable, and sought for the Austrians and for medals with equal ardour; he did not leave a bush or a ruin unsearched or unvisited. Mireur was the man of dangers and outposts; he could only sleep quietly when in presence of the enemy. Caffarelli, equally brave, only fought from necessity; he



“ was fond of glory, but fonder still of mankind, and considered war but as a means of obtaining peace.” Passing from these to officers of an inferior rank, Napoleon praised the courage of one, the skill of another; and dwelt considerably upon the merit of two brave men whose loss he deeply regretted. These were Sulkowsky and Guibert. The first was a Pole, full of intrepidity, knowledge and intelligence. He had gone to wake Kosciusko, and to deliver him the instructions of the *Comité du Salut Public*. He was an able engineer, spoke every language of Europe, and no obstacle could deter him from his purpose. The second, possessing a greater degree of shrewdness, pliability of temper, and circumspection, conducted a negotiation with all the art of a diplomatist; as will be seen by the following report:—

“ Cairo, November 1798.

“ At daybreak on the 2d I left Aboukir to proceed on board the English fleet. There was only one ship at anchor off the point; it was the *Swiftsure*, commanded by Mr. Hallowell. A boat came to meet me, and I asked the men

in it whether the ship commanded by Commodore Hood was in the offing. I was told that it was not; that Commodore Hood was cruising before Alexandria, but that Mr. Hallowell requested me nevertheless to come on board the *Swiftsure*.

“ Mr. Hallowell received me coldly ; particularly when he saw that I was accompanied by a Turk. I stated to him plainly the object of my mission to Mr. Hood. He replied, that Hassan Bey would not receive the Turk, and that the step I was taking was therefore useless.— ‘ You will, however, permit me, Sir, to go on board Mr. Hood’s ship.’ He answered, that he had himself some very interesting information to communicate to Mr. Hood: that the *Zealous* was almost out of sight, but that the signal to approach had been made; and he proposed to me to wait on board the *Swiftsure*. ‘ We will proceed together,’ added he, ‘ to see the admiral.’—He ordered breakfast; we sat down to table, and by degrees he became more friendly. Chance brought to his recollection some former connexion that had existed between him and my family, and a conversation ensued, which

was on my part frequently interrupted by sallies uttered with simplicity and without affectation. We conversed on the political situation of Europe; and he told me, with an expression of truth, that more than seven weeks had now elapsed since they had received any news, and that they expected some every day. He spoke confidently respecting the hostile dispositions of Turkey.—‘The news,’ answered I, ‘which the General frequently receives from Constantinople by land, does not agree with your statement.’—‘Does the General receive frequent news from Constantinople?’—‘Yes.’ He smiled, but appeared surprised. ‘Yet you cannot doubt that the Pacha of Rhodes is before Alexandria by order of his government?’ I was going to reply, but he continued: ‘We were at Rhodes when he was forced to come.’—‘Forced?’ I smiled in my turn. ‘Yes, by order of the Sublime Porte.’ I did not insist. He then shewed me your letter to the citizen Talleyrand, whom you have ordered to give to the Grand Signior an account of the events of Egypt, the details of the battle of Aboukir, and to tell him that we have still twenty-two ships in the Mediterranean. He ironically scruti-

nized the number of those which we have still left in that sea ; and added, ‘ M. de Talleyrand is not arrived at Constantinople ; and besides, he would no longer have found there your good friends the Grand-Vizir and the Reis-Effendi ; they have both been dismissed, and sent away from the capital.’ He stopped ; I feigned not having paid attention to what he had said. He then spoke to me about the Russian squadron commanded by Admiral Okzkoff. ‘ Where is it ?’ asked I.—‘ At the entrance of the Gulf of Venice ; it will soon attack your islands.’—‘ We cannot believe in the existence of the Russian squadron in the Mediterranean : you ought, for the interest of the Coalition, to advise it to appear and show itself.’—‘ But,’ answered Mr. Hallowell, almost nettled, ‘ you have already seen two of its frigates ; and if it does not keep a more considerable force in those seas, it is because it forms no part of its system of operations to do so.’ The conversation fell upon some of our naval officers ; and amongst others, upon Rear-Admiral Villeneuve. ‘ Have you not taken any of the four ships that accompanied him ?’ — ‘ No : *L’Heureux*, which had been separated in a gale, has been fortunate

enough to escape our pursuit, and to enter Corfu : the remainder are at Malta.'—' And *La Justice* ?'—' Also, most probably.'—' I have a cousin on board the last-mentioned vessel ; if he had been your prisoner, I should have asked your permission to send him some money : he belongs to a rich family.' ' But, stop,' said he clumsily, ' I now recollect that *La Justice* has sunk. Tell me the name of your relation.' I gave, without hesitation, the first name that occurred to me. Mr. Hallowell also spoke to me of a letter that had been intercepted coming from Toulon, and addressed to you. It announced the departure of a convoy, which is to sail as soon as the English shall no longer cruise before the port : but Nelson is there. He assured me that some of your despatches had been intercepted by the Turks ; and pretended that Ibrahim Aga was nothing more than a servant disguised, and that Hassan Bey had said so. — ' General Bonaparte,' answered I, ' only sends, as flag of truce, persons bearing a public character ; Ibrahim Aga is known, and formed part of the Pacha's suite at Constantinople.'

“ I spoke to him of their connexion with the Arabs, and informed him that the chiefs of Edkou and Elfini had been shot. I added, that you were perfectly aware that the Intendant of Ibrahim had gone from their fleet to Syria. He maintained, with the utmost affectation, that this information was false, and that the fleet had no connexion whatever with the Arabs. I almost immediately quoted proofs of the contrary.

“ He then spoke of the junction of fifty thousand Greeks, and I took care not to undeceive him. I told him that they had actually joined us, and were organizing.

“ At this moment Hassan Bey arrived. He was followed by a Turk who is devoted to the English, and who, in addition to being a mortal enemy of the French, appears to be of a most ferocious disposition. Mr. Hallowell seemed surprised at seeing the Bey, but we continued to walk about conversing together. Mahomed approached Hassan, waited a few minutes, and suddenly interrupting our conversation, took his letter out of his pocket, and asked

me whether he was to deliver it. Mr. Hallowell, surprised, stopped and looked at the Bey. ‘No,’ answered I to Mahomed, ‘you will only deliver it in presence of Mr. Hood.’— ‘You see, Sir,’ said I to Mr. Hallowell, ‘that it entirely depends upon Mr. Hood’s will, whether Hassan shall receive the letter or not.’ He begged me to allow him to withdraw, and called the Bey. I feigned not to observe what was going forward.

“Hassan Bey returned in a short time, and spoke to me about the war which the Sublime Porte has declared against us; and told me that England and Russia were going to attack us jointly. ‘Do you think,’ said I to him in Italian, ‘that the Porte will ever unite with Russia—her natural enemy, and who only seeks aggrandizement at her expense?’ I repeated to him that you had frequent correspondence with Constantinople, through Syria, and that the Grand Signior was perfectly aware of it.

“The Turk who accompanied him told me with a ferocious expression, that at Rhodes one hundred and forty-six Frenchmen had been

loaded with irons, and that this measure had also been resorted to by all the Pachas in the provinces under their superintendence. 'That measure will be one day disowned by the Grand Signior: in the mean time let Hassan Bey be informed,' added I, 'that in Egypt religion is respected, the mosques consecrated, the Arabs repulsed. Let him read the proclamation of the Divan, and he will recognize in the French the allies of the Sublime Porte.' I then delivered to him a proclamation; but he took it without reading it.

"Mr. Hallowell proposed to me to go over his ship, and I accepted. A French emigrant, employed as a pilot, came up to me on the upper deck; he appeared sincerely to regret his country, and asked me whether it was true that fifty thousand Greeks had joined us. He added, but in a lower tone of voice, that the Arabs who came on board every day related a hundred absurd stories; that they began to be no longer believed, and to cease to give satisfaction. He told me there were eleven French prisoners on board, and I expressed a wish to see them. They are soldiers of the 4th light infantry. I asked them



whether they were well treated. ‘We have only half rations,’ answered they. An officer then hastily stepped forward, and said to me, ‘The crew itself has only half rations, I assure you.’—‘I believe it, Sir,’ said I; ‘for we and our prisoners always share alike.’

“The ship commanded by Commodore Hood was still at a great distance, and Mr. Hallowell ordered dinner to be served. The formality of his manner seemed now considerably relaxed; he spoke to me of peace, of the ambition of our Government, and concluded by these words—‘It is you that do not wish for peace!’ I recalled to his mind, but without insisting upon it, that, although conquerors of the Continental powers, we had, however, always been the first to offer peace; that recently again, when master of Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia, you had acted towards Prince Charles in the most candid and noble manner, in writing to him the following letter, which I quoted from one end to the other:—

“‘General-in-Chief! Brave soldiers make war, and desire peace. Has not this war already

lasted six years? Have we not killed men enough, and done harm enough to suffering humanity? She appeals in all directions. Europe had taken up arms against the French Republic, but she has laid them down again; your nation stands alone, and blood is about to flow more than ever. This sixth campaign opens under sinister auspices: whatever be its issue we shall kill some thousand men on both sides, and shall at last be obliged to come to an understanding together; since there is a limit to every thing in this world, even to the duration of hateful passions.

“ ‘ The Executive Directory of the French Republic had expressed to His Majesty the Emperor a wish to put an end to the war which afflicts the two nations, but the intervention of the Court of London has prevented the accomplishment of this end. Is there no hope of accommodation? and must we, to serve the interests and passions of a nation who does not feel the evils of this war, continue to destroy each other? You, General, whose birth places you so near the throne, and who must be above all the petty passions which often blind ministers

and governments, are you determined to deserve the title of a benefactor to humanity, and of the true saviour of Germany? Do not think that I intend to insinuate that it is impossible that Germany can be saved by your arms; but, supposing the chances of war to turn in your favour, that country will be equally ravaged. For my part, General, if the proposal I have the honour to make to you can save the life of a single human being, I shall pride myself more upon the civic crown I shall have thus earned, than upon the melancholy glory that may result from military success.'

" 'Well,' said Mr. Hallowell, on whom this letter had evidently produced an effect: '*To the conclusion of a peace honourable for both nations!*'

" At five o'clock Mr. Hallowell, Hassan Bey, and myself, embarked to go on board Mr. Hood's ship, where we arrived at eight in the evening. Mr. Hood's reception was still colder than Mr. Hallowell's had been at first: he made me walk in, went out of the room, and spoke for a length of time to Mr. Hallowell

and Hassan Bey. When he came back, I said to him, 'You know, Sir, the subject of my mission to you.'—'Yes: but Hassan Bey will not receive Mr. Bonaparte's letter.'—'He would, however, have received it this morning, if you had allowed him.' (I dwelt with particular emphasis upon the two last words.)—'Well! let the Turk present the letter; Hassan will receive it or not, just as he thinks proper; he is perfectly at liberty to do as he pleases.' Mahomed presented the letter, which Hassan received and opened. The English interpreter approached, and they read it together, smiling ironically several times as they proceeded. Mr. Hood also affected to laugh. 'I have been very much surprised,' said he to me, 'that the General should have sent me a Turk, as a flag of truce, under the colours of Turkey. You doubt, then, the fact of the declaration of war by the Sublime Porte against you? I give you my word of honour that it is true. What is Mr. Bonaparte doing?'—'He has set off for Suez, after having received a courier from that place. He has concluded a treaty of alliance with the Arabs of Mount Sinai and the Princes of Mount Lebanon.' I had already slightly

spoken to some of the officers of the arrival at Suez of ships and transports.

“ I afterwards asked Mr. Hood whether it was a long time since he had received news from Europe. ‘ More than seven weeks ; I expect some every day, and shall hasten to transmit the newspapers to Mr. Bonaparte. General Manscourt has sent me a very amiable flag of truce,’ added he, laughing, ‘ to ask for his letters. I give you my word that I will transmit those that treat upon indifferent subjects ; and I will even forward a few lines to France or Italy.’—‘ You are very kind,’ said I hastily, ‘ but it will be useless to give yourself that trouble : since the beginning of September a vessel sails every five or six days for France. Several officers and aides-de-camp of the General-in-chief have already been sent home in that way.’—‘ Indeed !’—‘ Assuredly ; you must have taken several of them. Have you taken General Bonaparte’s brother ?’—‘ How ! do you mean the brother of Mr. Bonaparte ?’—‘ Yes. He left Alexandria about twenty-five or thirty days ago.’ He appeared not to believe this intelligence, but I affirmed

the truth of it. ‘However, he will not escape our superior cruisers.’ He then asked if I came from Aboukir, and whether I knew of the letter addressed to him by Adjutant-general Descalles, which he shewed me, and which might have been better written.

“ ‘My intention,’ continued Mr. Hood, ‘is to behave towards you as your nation will behave towards us. You see that I might have refused to see you; and I am even surprised that Mr. Hallowell received you on board his ship, coming as you did from Aboukir.’ I replied, that ‘I had started from Rosetta, but that the passage over the bar of the Nile being too perilous, I had been obliged to come by way of Aboukir: that it might, besides, be dangerous for us that flags of truce should penetrate into a fortress or a post, the position of which they might thus reconnoitre; whilst it was of no consequence whatever for them whether a flag of truce came from such or such a place, and went on board such or such a ship.’—‘In sending you your letters,’ resumed Mr. Hood, ‘I shall not follow the example of your Government, which has just ordered that all letters addressed

to Englishmen, in whatever vessel they may be taken, shall be carried to France. Your mode of carrying on the war is totally unprecedented: we shall in future act as you do, and imitate your proceedings on every occasion.'—'I believe, Commodore,' answered I, 'that our two Governments are quite on a par in that respect. As for General Bonaparte, he has always conducted war upon open and generous principles, and consistently with the dictates of humanity.' I then related to him the marks of attention you had shown Marshal Wurmser at the siege of Mantua; and that you had sent him refreshments of every description for his sick,—an act of generosity at which the old Marshal had been much surprised. I told him the humane manner in which the two belligerent nations had treated their prisoners, adding, that I knew your intention was to supply the English with whatever they might want or wish for. Mr. Hood appeared surprised at this politeness, thanked me, and said that they were not in want of any thing.

“ I now mentioned to him that you wished the first flag of truce he sent might be addressed to

Rosetta.—‘ But,’ said he, interrupting me, ‘ it seems to me more simple to send to Alexandria.’ ‘ The General requests you will have the kindness to despatch flags of truce to Rosetta, from whence orders are given to conduct them to Cairo ; and in case of your doing so, the General begs you to select some intelligent person possessing your confidence.’—‘ Very well ; I will follow that plan.’

“ I seized this opportunity of proposing to a Protestant clergyman, who had just manifested a great wish to see the Pyramids, to accompany me, promising that I would bring him back.

“ The English interpreter now approached Mr. Hood and translated to him your letter to Hassan Bey. The Commodore pretended to laugh immoderately. The interpreter came up to me and said, ‘ Hassan Bey has taken a French brig, and has put the crew in irons. He will not return it, and will act in the same manner with every thing belonging to the French nation.’—‘ Mahomed having been the bearer of the letter,’ answered I, ‘ this reply must be addressed to him :—Hassan Bey does not intend



to make any reply whatever, either verbally or in writing.' Mr. Hallowell now announced to me that the boat was ready : I took leave of Mr. Hood, who begged me to give his compliments to you. On our way back Mr. Hallowell said to me ; ' You must have had an engagement three days ago near Cairo.'—' With whom ? ' asked I ; ' Mourad has just been defeated by General Dessaix.'—' I know it ; but you will see.' He added, that a Turk I had seen on board Mr. Hood's ship had been sent by the Grand Signior to distribute presents and concert with the Admiral measures of importance." Mr. Hood did not say a word of this to me, and the intelligence has not the slightest appearance of truth.

" Generally speaking, notwithstanding the outward and affected demonstrations of friendship made to the old Pacha of Rhodes and his suite, by the English, there does not appear to exist any cordiality between them ; and I believe the English to be particularly dissatisfied with the Arabs. Mr. Hallowell told me, that one day Hassan Bey had expressed to him his surprise

at seeing the friendly communications between the French and English flags of truce, telling him that, with them, persons sent on such an errand would run the risk of losing their lives. Mr. Hallowell could not refrain from replying to him, ‘ We are not barbarians !’

“ We arrived on board the *Swiftsure* at midnight. It was dangerous to depart at that hour, on account of the guard-boats that were going their rounds, and I therefore accepted a bed which Mr. Hallowell had slung for me in his own cabin, and left him the next morning.

“ An officer told me that Admiral Nelson was expected ; and I asked Mr. Hallowell whether such was the case, but he assured me it was not. The officer’s communication looked like an act of indiscretion.

“ You have judged, General, of the effect produced by the last flag of truce sent by General Manscourt, and you know that he proposed sending another. The last, it appears,

lost his temper in speaking to Mr. Hood. It is from such men as these that a judgment is formed of the nation, and of the spirit of the army.

“ I also cannot conceal from you that the naval officer who accompanied me has made me blush for him twenty times over, and that he has often placed me in the embarrassing situation of being obliged to repair his indiscretions.

“ I must moreover inform you, General, that the arming of the division, which is carried on with activity, is no longer a secret : Alexandria must now become the object of your serious attention ; the English seem too well informed of what is going on in that place.

“ Respectfully yours,

“ GUIBERT.”

28th.

The Emperor had passed a tolerably good night, and was better than yesterday. He rose at daybreak, and, though extremely weak, took a ride in the calash.

1st March.

Napoleon had passed a quiet night, but the prostration of strength still continued, and the digestion was extremely laborious. He went out in the calash ; but nothing could dispel the deep melancholy in which he was plunged. At nine P. M. he was seized with a dry and painful cough, and nausea, followed by vomiting.

2nd.

The Emperor had had a good night. He went out twice in the calash, and found himself tolerably well. He took pleasure in retracing numberless details and circumstances which proved the tender affection he felt for Maria Louisa.—“ Her *accouchement* was extremely  
“ painful, and I may say that it is in a great measure  
“ sure to my care that she owes her existence. I  
“ was reposing in an adjoining closet, when Du-  
“ bois ran to inform me of her danger. He was  
“ alarmed : the child presented itself in a wrong  
“ position ; he knew not what to do. I endeavored  
“ to quiet him, and asked him if he had  
“ never met with similar cases in the course of  
“ his practice.—‘ Yes, certainly,’ replied he ;

“ ‘but they occur once in a thousand times, and  
“ is it not dreadful for me that such an extra-  
“ ordinary occurrence should happen to the Em-  
“ press ?’—‘ Forget her rank, and treat her like  
“ a shop-keeper of the *Rue St. Denis*; I ask no-  
“ thing more of you.’—‘ But may I use instru-  
“ ments ? and if further accidents happen, which  
“ am I to save, the mother or the child ?’—‘ The  
“ mother : it is her right !’ I then went to Ma-  
“ ria Louisa : I quieted her, and supported her ;  
“ she was delivered, and the child lived. Un-  
“ fortunate being !” Napoleon stopped ; I re-  
spected his silence, and withdrew.

3rd.

The Emperor went out twice to take a ride in the calash. He ate little, and without appetite, and was troubled with dry and frequent coughing.

4th.

The prostration of strength increased. Napoleon attempted twice to get into the calash, but was soon obliged to go to bed. He, however, took some nourishment, but in a very small quantity ; and ate with still less appetite than yesterday. At two P. M. he took two tonic pills.

The conversation began upon the fine arts. One of the parties engaged in it held music in very little estimation, and did not conceal his opinion. “You are wrong,” said the Emperor to him; “of all liberal arts, music has “the greatest influence over the passions, and “is that to which the legislator ought to give “the greatest encouragement. A well-com- “posed song strikes and softens the mind, and “produces a greater effect than a moral work, “which convinces our reason, but does not “warm our feelings, nor effect the slightest al- “teration in our habits.”

5th.

The Emperor had passed the night quietly, though almost without sleeping. He went out, and found himself better after having done so; and having taken two pills, he got into the calash again at three o'clock in the afternoon. He had scarcely taken any food. His appearance is livid, and his aspect that of a corpse.

6th.

Napoleon had had a tolerable night. He took a little soup.—Extreme and general de-

pression. At nine A. M. he took some tonic pills, and towards evening he expressed a wish to eat something. Two lamb-chops were brought to him: he bade me taste them, asked me whether they were nutritive and of easy digestion; and after having addressed all these questions to me, he tasted them and left them. "What think you, Doctor? is not this a battle lost?"—"A battle won, Sire, if you will..."—"What? take medicines?"—"But..."—"But! every one fights with his own weapons; that is all right, Doctor. I like your tenaciousness."—"Your Majesty is then in league with the latitude?"—"Better still, Doctor! whether from fear or conviction, it is all the same to you, provided the patient takes physic."—"However..."—"Well, what more? health if I take, death if I refuse! I have ceased to deceive myself; life is fast escaping from me—I feel it; that is the reason why I give up medicines: I wish to die of *disease*. Do you hear?"

7th.

The patient had had a very restless, night, and it was only at break of day that he could take a

little rest. He was not so weak as the preceding days. He was up, but quite in a *négligé*: I begged of him to take care of himself, and he set about his toilet. "When I was Napoleon," said he, with an expression of melancholy, "I dressed quickly and with pleasure; but now, what signifies it whether I look well or ill? Besides, it occasions me more fatigue than I formerly experienced in disposing the plan of a campaign: let me try, however," and he shaved; but he was obliged to proceed by degrees, and to take several intervals of rest. At last, however, he completed the operation, got into bed, and did not leave it the whole morning. At one P. M. he expressed a desire to take some food, and asked for roast lamb, fried potatoes, and coffee; but he scarcely touched any of these things when brought to him, notwithstanding which he experienced agitation and pains in the abdomen, accompanied by frequent and fetid ructations.

- 8th.

The night had been tolerably favourable, but the prostration of strength continued, and the feeling of indisposition became general.



The Emperor complained of a deep pain which manifested itself in the right hypochondriac region, on the left side of the breast, and extended to the shoulder.—Abdomen much distended—excessive inappetency—pulse weak and slow.—Ride in the calash.—Tonic pills. At four P. M. his stomach rejected the little food he had taken.

9th.

Saw the Emperor at four o'clock A. M. and found that he had passed a tolerably quiet night.—Frictions, with ether, and the application of hot linen, dispelled the pain which had manifested itself in the left side.—Frequent and insipid ructations.

10th.

The patient had passed an extremely uneasy and sleepless night. He was very weak, but tolerably well.—Tonic pills.

The Emperor held in his hand a series of newspapers. I dreaded fatigue, and made an observation to that effect. “No, Doctor, this  
“is a scene of mirth and amusement; I am  
“reading of the devotedness of the King of

“ Naples to the Constitutional system. These  
“ legitimates are all of a benignity of dispo-  
“ sition quite unequalled. Here, read: it is  
“ impossible to say any thing better.” I pe-  
rused the document. Napoleon resumed.—  
“ This *Maccaronais* wished also to deceive me,  
“ and to come to Rome and stir up a war of  
“ religion against us; but I saw through his  
“ *manœuvres*, and signified to him that it would  
“ be better for him to remain in his dominions.  
“ He thought the warning sufficient, and re-  
“ spected it; but the preachers and Madonnas  
“ were only the more active; the *Sept Communes*  
“ were flying to arms: it became urgent to put  
“ a stop to the crusade. I might have punish-  
“ ed, but the legend was already voluminous  
“ enough, and I did not choose to send these  
“ mutineers to Heaven. I had them preached  
“ to, and charged Joubert with this affair.  
“ ‘Require of the Bishop of Vicenza,’ said I to  
“ to him, ‘to send missionaries into those coun-  
“ tries, to preach tranquillity and obedience,  
“ under pain of Hell. Let the missionaries  
“ call upon you; give fifteen Louis to each, and  
“ promise them they shall have more when  
“ they return. You will see, that in a short time

“ every thing will be quiet again.’ And so it  
“ turned out ; for as soon as the men of God  
“ were by the ears, the population, astonished  
“ and in doubt, no longer felt any inclination  
“ to make war.”

11th.

Napoleon had passed a rather better night, and felt himself more easy. His spirits were less gloomy, his pulse more natural, and the abdomen in a more favourable state. Appetite had also returned, and the digestive organs performed their operations. He remained up thirteen successive hours, took tonic pills, and a ride in the calash.

12th.

The Emperor was not so well towards the evening.—Usual ride.—Tonic pills.

Lady Holland had sent a package of books, in which was also a little box inclosing a bust, in plaster of Paris, the head of which was covered with divisions and numbers referring to the craniological system of Gall. “ Here, Doctor, “ this belongs to your department ; take it and

“ study it, and then give me an account of it.  
“ I should like to know what Gall would say if  
“ he were to feel my head.” I set to work ;  
but the divisions were inexact, and the figures  
misplaced ; and before I had had time to put  
them in order again, Napoleon sent for me. I  
found him in the midst of a great number of  
volumes scattered about him, reading Polybius.  
He said nothing at first, but continued to peruse  
the book he held in his hand ; then suddenly  
threw it down, advanced towards me, looking  
steadfastly at me, and seizing me by the ears :  
“ Well, *Dottoraccio di Capo Corso*, have you  
“ seen the box ?”—“ Yes, Sire.—“ Have you  
“ examined Gall’s system ?”—“ Nearly.”—“ Un-  
“ derstood it ?”—“ I believe so.”—“ Are you  
“ able to explain it ?”—“ Your Majesty shall  
judge.”—“ To understand my propensities and  
“ appreciate my faculties by feeling my head ?”  
—“ And even without touching it.” (He laugh-  
ed.) “ You are, then, in possession of all  
“ the requisite information ?”—“ Yes, Sire.”—  
“ Well, we will talk on the subject on some  
“ future opportunity, when we shall have no-  
“ thing better to do. As a resource, it will do  
“ as well as any other ; and it is sometimes

“amusing to consider how far folly may be  
“carried.” He was walking ; and after a short  
pause he resumed. “What did Mascagni think  
“of these German dreams? Come, speak with-  
“out reserve, as if you were conversing with  
“one of your own profession.”—“Mascagni  
admired very much the manner in which Gall  
and Spurzheim develope and explain the va-  
rious parts of the brain, and had also adopted  
that method which he considered eminently  
calculated to inculcate a thorough knowledge  
of this interesting organ. With respect to the  
system of judging the vices, propensities, and  
virtues of men by the protuberances on their  
heads, he considered it as an ingenious fable  
which might seduce men of the world, but  
which could not bear the examination of the  
anatomist.”—“That is thinking and acting  
“like a wise man, who knows how to appre-  
“ciate the merit of a conception, and to divest  
“it of the errors and follies with which it is  
“loaded by quackery. I regret much that I  
“did not know him. Corvisart was a great  
“admirer of Gall ; he praised him, protected  
“him, and used his utmost endeavours to push  
“him up to me ; but there was no sympathy

“ between us. Such men as Lavater, Cagli-  
“ ostro, Mesmer, have never ranked very high in  
“ my estimation. I even felt I knew not what  
“ kind of aversion to them ; and did not, there-  
“ fore, feel disposed to admit the man who was  
“ a continuation of them. Gentlemen of this  
“ description are all dexterous and well-spoken :  
“ they work upon that thirst after the marvel-  
“ lous which the generality of mankind expe-  
“ rience, and give the colouring of truth to  
“ the falsest theories. Nature does not betray  
“ herself by her outward forms ; she does not  
“ disclose her secrets,—she conceals them. To  
“ judge and examine men upon such slight in-  
“ dications is the act of a dupe or an impos-  
“ tor, such as are all those beings gifted with  
“ wondrous inspirations, of which herds are to  
“ be found in every large capital. The only  
“ way to know men is to see them, observe  
“ them, and put them to the test. To avoid  
“ falling into errors, they must be studied a  
“ long time, and be judged by their actions ;  
“ and even that rule is not infallible, and re-  
“ quires to be restricted in its operation to the  
“ moment in which they act ; for we seldom  
“ act consistently with our genuine disposition :

“ we give way to the transport or impulse of  
“ the moment, or are carried away by pas-  
“ sion; and this constitutes what we call vice  
“ and virtue, perversity or heroism. Such is  
“ my opinion, and such has long been my  
“ guide. Not that I pretend to deny the in-  
“ fluence of disposition and education : I think,  
“ on the contrary, that it is immense ; but  
“ beyond that, every thing is mere system and  
“ folly.”

13th.

The Emperor had passed a bad night.—  
Prostration of strength—inappetency—flatu-  
lencies in the stomach and the digestive ca-  
nal—pulse low and nervous—general feeling  
of anxiety—complexion cadaverous. The pa-  
tient took very little food, and remained nearly  
the whole day in bed. At seven o'clock P. M.  
the newspapers arrived from Europe, and the  
Emperor passed the night in perusing them.

14th

At ten o'clock in the morning the Em-  
peror was still reading: he rose, but conti-  
nued to read, and would not listen to any ad-  
vice on the subject. He, however, appeared

extremely tired and downcast, and his eyes were sunk, dim, and livid. He ate very little the whole day. Towards evening he took a ride, on his return from which he put a few questions to me respecting the state of his health, and then began once more to peruse the newspapers. Amongst the number of the defenders of Italian independence, he observed the name of a personage of whom he only preserved an imperfect recollection. "I have some idea of that man; do you know him?"—"Yes, Sire; he is one of the Marquesses of Pavia; one of the bullies who suffered themselves to be carried off by Giorno."—"Who is this Giorno? What are you speaking about?"—"One of those obscure plots which your Majesty has forgotten. The partisans of Austria had taken courage; they went about the Lodero, animating the people and exciting them to revolt:—the nobility, thinking the moment favourable, put the National Guard, which was at their disposal, in a state of insurrection. The Cisalpine was without troops. A man came forward to face the storm: he went to the Governor, concerted his plans with him, and the chiefs of the rebellion were sent



for. When they were assembled, the Governor informed them that he was indignant at the excesses of some Revolutionists, whom he was about to punish and make an example of, and that it was for that reason he had convoked them. They expressed themselves highly pleased at his severity, and were applauding his intentions, and promising to shew no mercy, when Giorno, whose carriages had arrived, arrested the Areopagus, and carried it off, without the slightest attempt on the part of either conspirator or accomplice to offer any resistance. Such is \* \* \*: you have now an idea of the acts of his early years, and the measure of his courage."

The Emperor made no reply; and began to talk of Venice, and of the manner in which she had ended. I understood the allusion, and listened attentively. " Venice, notwithstanding  
" the insurrection of her continental possessions,  
" still preserved immense resources, and was  
" in a state to be able to resist. Time might,  
" besides, bring about other political combinations,  
" and leave to the nobles the power  
" which they had usurped. They knew not

“ how to place themselves above threats and  
“ privations ; and basely yielding to fear, they  
“ only sought to feign and betray. They flat-  
“ tered themselves that we should be the dupes  
“ of their artifices, that they should deceive us  
“ with words, and that a revolution merely  
“ illusory would be sufficient to calm us. The  
“ Grand Council, therefore, bethought itself of  
“ abdicating its power and promising demo-  
“ cracy. This was equal to proclaiming it,  
“ and the Council perceived what they had  
“ done ; but it was too late : public opinion had  
“ marched forward, they could not retrace their  
“ steps, and therefore had recourse to anarchy.  
“ The Council filled the streets with bands of  
“ Slavonians, whom it directed and excited ;  
“ but the citizens fled to arms, and the plot  
“ was defeated. What was now to be done ?  
“ What step was to be taken ? That of para-  
“ lyzing the people, by giving them a chief,  
“ old and without energy, and incapable of ren-  
“ dering their resources available. Salembini  
“ was chosen for that purpose. Unfortunately,  
“ however, this old man was still full of fire ;  
“ he chose and assembled experienced men,  
“ took possession of the principal posts, and dis-

“ persed the pillagers. They returned to the  
“ charge, and endeavoured to take the Rinaldo  
“ by surprise. They approached—fired—rushed  
“ upon the troops by which it was defended,  
“ and put them to flight. Though abandoned  
“ by his soldiers, the officer who commanded  
“ this post did not lose courage; he flew  
“ against the assailants, and engaged them  
“ single-handed. Twice his sword broke, and  
“ twice he armed himself anew at their ex-  
“ pense; wounded five, killed four, and obliged  
“ the remainder to fall back. His soldiers ral-  
“ lied and returned; the combatants again ap-  
“ proached and mixed, confusion ensued, and  
“ the earth was strewn with the dead.

“ The Senate beaten, without resource, was  
“ obliged, in order to shelter itself against  
“ the popular fury, to call for the French.  
“ Admiral Condulmer made proposals to Bara-  
“ gney-d’Hilliers, first offering him boats and  
“ pressing him to enter Venice alone; then  
“ imagining difficulties, raising obstacles, and  
“ endeavouring, in a word, to gain time. He  
“ sometimes spoke and acted like a simple  
“ citizen disgusted with affairs, and sometimes

“ like an admiral backed by all the influence  
“ of power. We had no difficulty in seeing  
“ through his *manœuvres*; we hastened our  
“ preparations, and Venice was taken whilst  
“ the aristocracy was still discussing its plots.”

15th.

The Emperor was extremely dejected; the lower extremities were perfectly cold, and the pulse was low and irregular. “ Ah, Doctor!  
“ how much I suffer! . . . I do not feel my  
“ bowels; it seems as if I had no abdomen  
“ left. All the pain I experience is near the  
“ spleen and the left extremity of the stomach:  
“ I feel it; the moment of my death cannot  
“ be far distant.” During the whole day he only took a few spoonful of soup and a few fried potatoes.

16th.

Saw the Emperor at ten, A. M.; found him in bed, plunged in a state of lethargic somnolency which he could not overcome. “ To what a state  
“ I am reduced! I, who was so quick, so ac-  
“ tive, can now scarcely raise my eye-lids; but  
“ I am no longer Napoleon :” and he closed his

eyes again. Towards the evening, however, yielding to my entreaties, he got up, placed himself on a sofa, and consented, with reluctance, to take some food.

Madame Bertrand came in, and the Emperor talked to her of walking out with him. “ We will go out early, we will enjoy the  
“ fresh air of the morning ; we shall gain appe-  
“ tite, and escape the influence of the climate.  
“ You, Hortense, and myself, are the greatest  
“ invalids ; we must assist each other, and unite  
“ our strength to fight against the latitude, and  
“ deprive it of its victims.”

17th.

Napoleon had passed a tolerably quiet night. He rode out in the calash for the last time ; but was obliged to come back almost immediately. At twelve o'clock, after having taken some food, the Emperor was seized with a violent pain in the head, accompanied by a sensation of extreme coldness, which affected his whole frame, but chiefly between the shoulders and towards the lower extremities. He shivered, and his teeth chattered.—The

pulse was very weak and nervous. These fatal symptoms lasted five minutes.

Abbé Buonavita was constantly sickly and suffering. Napoleon would not allow him to remain any longer on a rock where his zeal was appreciated, but where his services were not indispensable: he therefore gave him a pension of three thousand francs, and sent him away. I took advantage of the opportunity to write to the Chevalier Colonna the following letter:—

“ Longwood, Island of St. Helena,  
“ 17th March, 1821.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ In my letter of the 18th of July, 1820, I spoke to you of the chronic hepatitis under which his Majesty is labouring. That disease, which is *endemic* in the latitude where we are, appeared, however, to yield to the action of the remedies that had been administered: I had obtained some amelioration; but relapses have occurred, and since that time the patient has continually experienced sudden alternations, and all the effect of the treatment pursued has been

completely destroyed. The Emperor's situation is growing daily worse; the hepatic functions are no longer performed, and those of the digestive organs are entirely suspended. His Majesty is now reduced to such a state, that he can only feed upon liquid substances, which do not, as it were, require to be digested; and it is not even certain that these are received into the stomach, since they are rejected almost immediately after they have been taken.

“ Such being the case, and in order to exculpate myself from all responsibility, I declare to you, to all the Imperial Family, and to the whole world, that the disease under which the Emperor is labouring is an effect of the nature of the climate, and that the symptoms it exhibits are of the most serious kind.

“ Art is unavailing against the continued action of the air we breathe; and if the English Government does not hasten to remove Napoleon from this devouring atmosphere, I grieve to say that his Majesty will soon be no more.

“ The English newspapers constantly repeat that the Emperor’s health is good : but do not believe them ; the event will prove whether those from whom they receive their intelligence are sincere or well informed.

“ Your friend,  
“ F. ANTOMMARCHI.”

“ Accompany this good old man to James-  
“ Town,” said the Emperor to me ; “ give him  
“ every assistance and every advice so long a  
“ voyage requires.” I accordingly went, and  
conducted the Abbé to the ship which was to  
convey him to Europe. When I returned to  
Longwood, Napoleon said to me : “ Is he on  
“ board ? ” — “ Yes, Sire. ” — “ Comfortably ? ” —  
“ The ship appears good. ” — “ And the crew ? ” —  
— “ Well composed. ” — “ So much the better ;  
“ I should like to know that the good eccle-  
“ siastic were already arrived at Rome, and safe  
“ from the dangers of the passage. What kind  
“ of reception do you think he will meet with  
“ at Rome ; do you not suppose it will be a fa-  
“ vourable one ? ” — I did not give an immediate  
answer, and Napoleon resumed. — “ At any rate



“ they owe it to me to treat him well ; for,  
“ after all, without me, what would have be-  
“ come of the Church ? ”

18th.

The Emperor had passed a rather favourable night, but his strength still goes on declining. His pulse was low and nervous ; he ate nothing, and talked incessantly. His conversation was droll and lively : he joked about my pills ; and I laughed at the terror they occasioned him, and was fortunate enough to make him forget his sufferings for a few moments. He coughed : I ran to the calming draught.—“ None  
“ of that, if you please,” said he ; “ I have already  
“ taken too much of your cookery, I will have  
“ no more of it.”—“ But, Sire, the cough . . . .”  
“ —Of course ! the cough, the liver, the sto-  
“ mach ! I shall expire if I do not submit to  
“ swallow the juleps ! . . . .” I insisted ; he railed at me. I entered into some details ; he ridiculed them ; and I was at last obliged to yield. Having escaped from taking the medicine, he was pleased and in good spirits, and was inexhaustible on the subject of the profession and

its followers. I excited him ; I laid myself open to his satire, and kept up that slight degree of contradiction which prolongs and animates conversation. To my arguments he opposed cases : I explained them, and was often right in spite of myself. He then varied his point of attack and his mode of discussion ; always concluding by his favourite maxim, that nothing is so prejudicial as medicines taken internally. This conclusion I could not possibly admit ; it would have been peremptory, and I should have been henceforth unable to prevail upon him to use any medicine whatever. I therefore warmly opposed it ; demonstrating to him how erroneous it was, and to what injurious consequences it might lead. “ Nature,” said I, “ undoubtedly Nature is powerful and inexhaustible, but still she must be assisted, and in most cases divined and interpreted ” The Emperor had exhausted all his means of defence ; but, unwilling to own the weakness of his theory, he seized upon the last word I had pronounced.—“ Interpreted ! you are a physician, I “ leave that to you.”—“ No, Sire, I could not presume . . . .”—“ What do you mean ?”—“ Nothing could possibly be better done !”—“ Than

“ what? To what do you allude?”—I laughed.  
“ —Oh! I understand you; it is to the pro-  
“ clamation, is it not? Undoubtedly the inter-  
“ pretation was good; but the Councils were  
“ again raising an outcry against the priests.  
“ These unfortunate beings, rejected abroad,  
“ persecuted at home, and reduced to the last  
“ stage of misery, were on the point of perish-  
“ ing. I extended a friendly hand to them,  
“ and I welcomed them; the *tribune* dared not  
“ proscribe men that were protected by me—the  
“ persecution ceased, and I preserved to the  
“ church its ministers.”—“ And notified also  
to the Conclave the inspirations of the Holy  
Ghost.”—“ No. A ballot was going on for three  
“ candidates to the Apostolic See—Caprara,  
“ Gerdil, and Albani. The first was at the head  
“ of the discontented, and was backed by Spain;  
“ I had nothing to say. The second was a  
“ kind of saint, the choice of the lower clergy  
“ and of devotees; his elevation was without  
“ political consequence: but Albani was a  
“ dependant of Austria, possessing judgment,  
“ knowledge of the world, and a handsome  
“ person; he might be dangerous, and I there-

“ fore would not hear of him. I did not op-  
“ pose his being made a bishop ; but I could not  
“ acknowledge, as a prince, the murderer of  
“ Basseville. It was far from my wish to in-  
“ terfere in matters of divine worship ; the Re-  
“ volution had disturbed so many interests that  
“ it was but fitting that religious opinions, at  
“ least, should be respected. I caused over-  
“ tures to be made to the Pope ; I proposed  
“ to him to join the French Government, and  
“ use his influence to consolidate the internal  
“ tranquillity of the two States and contribute  
“ to the advantage of both.

“ ‘ The moment is arrived,’ said I to him, ‘ for  
“ executing an operation, in which wisdom,  
“ policy, and true religion, are equally inte-  
“ rested, and in the performance of which they  
“ must equally concur.

“ ‘ The French Government has just given  
“ permission to open anew the churches of the  
“ Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith, and  
“ grants to that religion tolerance and pro-  
“ tection.

“ ‘ The priests will either take advantage of  
“ this first act of the French Government in the  
“ true spirit of the Gospel, by contributing to  
“ public tranquillity, and preaching the true  
“ maxims of charity, which are the foundation  
“ of the religion of the Gospel ; in which case I  
“ have no doubt that they will obtain a more  
“ special protection, and that this will be a  
“ happy commencement towards the attain-  
“ ment of the end so much desired : or they  
“ will pursue a totally opposite line of conduct ;  
“ in which case they will be again persecuted  
“ and driven away.

“ ‘ The Pope, as the chief of the faithful, and  
“ the common centre of faith, may have a great  
“ influence over the conduct of the priests ; and  
“ he will, perhaps, think it worthy of his wis-  
“ dom, and of the most sacred of all religions,  
“ to promulgate a bull, or order, prescribing to  
“ the priests to obey the Government, and do  
“ all in their power to consolidate the esta-  
“ blished Constitution. If that bull be ex-  
“ pressed in terms concise and favourable to  
“ the great end which it may produce, it will  
“ be a great step towards the re-establishment

“ of order, and extremely advantageous to the  
“ prosperity of religion.

“ ‘ After this first operation, it would be use-  
“ ful to know what measures might be taken to  
“ reconcile the constitutional priests with those  
“ that are not constitutional; and lastly, what  
“ measures the Court of Rome might propose  
“ to remove all obstacles, and bring back the  
“ majority of the French people to principles  
“ of religion.

“ ‘ I request the ministers of his Holiness to  
“ communicate these ideas to the Pope, and to  
“ transmit his answer to me as soon as pos-  
“ sible. The desire of being useful to religion  
“ is one of the principal motives that induce  
“ me to act.

“ ‘ The pure and simple doctrine of the  
“ Gospel, the wisdom, policy, and experience  
“ of the Pope, may, if they are exclusively lis-  
“ tened to, produce fortunate results for the  
“ Christian religion and the personal glory of  
“ his Holiness.’ ”

19th.

The patient had passed a pretty good night, but his strength and spirits were much depressed, and his pulse was frequent, weak, and nervous. At one A. M. the Emperor, who had only taken a few spoonfuls of soup, had an attack of fever, accompanied by general sensation of cold, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour, and was principally felt at the lower extremities.—Pain in the head—general atony—oppression—pain in the right hypochondriac region and the whole abdomen—dry cough—tongue damp and furred—throat and mouth lined with mucosities. Napoleon got out of bed, but his weakness increased, and he experienced a sensation of extreme inappetency, plenitude and oppression in the epigastric region, flatulency and costiveness in the abdomen, general anxiety. This state of agitation, accompanied by a sombre and peevish melancholy, lasted until five o'clock in the afternoon. He then tried to take a spoonful of soup, but it was immediately rejected: towards evening he tasted a little *charlotte*,\* and had a few minutes

\* A dish composed of apples and toasted bread.

sleep.—Simple enema.—At half past eleven P. M. he took a few spoonfuls of broth and an egg. The fever continued.

20th.

At two o'clock A. M. the Emperor experienced a violent oppression in the stomach, and a kind of painful suffocation in the chest. He felt an acute pain in the epigastric region, and the left hypochondriac region, which extended along the side of the thorax to the corresponding shoulder; the fever continued, the abdomen was extremely swelled, and painful on pressure, and the stomach quite relaxed.—Ordered dry fomentations on the part affected, and warm beverages of a slightly calming nature, which produced a tolerably favourable effect. At five P. M. the fever recommenced with redoubled violence, and was accompanied with icy coldness, particularly of the lower extremities; abdomen again swelled; extreme difficulty of breathing, and acute pain in all the viscera of the abdomen. The patient particularly complained of a cramp in the (to use his own expressions) *milza*, and in the *stacca sinistra dello stomaco*.



**Pediluvium—dry fomentations on the abdomen—etherised frictions—anodyne enemata.**

Madame Bertrand came in, and he made an effort to appear less dejected. He inquired after her health; and having conversed for a few minutes with a degree of cheerfulness, he said: "We must prepare for the fatal sentence. You, Hortense, and myself are doomed to meet our fate upon this miserable rock. I shall go first, you will come next, and Hortense will follow; we shall all three meet again in the Elysian fields." He then began to recite these lines:

" Mais à revoir Paris je ne dois plus prétendre :  
 " Vous voyez qu'au tombeau je suis prêt à descendre ;  
 " Je vais au Roi des rois demander aujourd'hui  
 " Le prix de tous les maux que j'ai soufferts pour lui."

VOLTAIRE, *Zaïre*, Act II. Scene 3.

21st.

I saw the Emperor at four A. M.; he had passed a very agitated night. At seven a dose of seven drachms of castor oil was given to him, in a cup full of herb-broth; but it did not go farther than the stomach, and the taste of it re-

mained all day in his mouth, without producing any effect. The spasmodic irritation of the stomach and the other abdominal viscera subsided, however, a little. The fever continued. At four P. M. the fever increased considerably, accompanied with a violent sensation of coldness, which did not, however, last very long.—Swelling of the abdomen, and acute pain in all the viscera of that cavity. The application of damp emollient fomentations produced a favourable effect. These fomentations were repeated at eleven P. M., and attended with the same success.

The Emperor had not slept all day ; he had been some time reading, and asked to be read to : suddenly he was seized with a kind of delirium, which lasted about three hours, and during which he repeated little Italian songs, talked, laughed, and joked, as he usually did, when in good spirits and suffering less pain. The fever continued, but with less violence—the patient complained of being extremely tired.

I felt how very useful an emetic would be, and I entreated Napoleon not to be wanting in

his duty to himself, and make a slight effort to take one; but the bare name of it wrought his repugnance to the highest pitch, and he replied to me, exaggerating the uncertainty of medicine, "Can you even tell me in what my disease consists? Can you even point out the seat of it?" It was in vain that I represented to him that the art of healing does not proceed like the exact sciences; that the seat and the cause of the affections that are felt can only be established by inference: he would not admit any distinction of the kind. "If such be the case," said he, "keep your physic: I will not have two diseases—that with which I am afflicted, and that which you would inflict upon me." If I insisted, he accused us of working in the dark, of administering medicines at random, and of killing three-fourths of those who trust in us.

Sometimes he assumed a tone which I shall never forget. "I have entire confidence in you," said he; "the manner in which you have practised at Longwood has convinced me of your skill: but I have never taken any medicines; I consider them as uncertain and

“ dangerous, and prefer trusting to nature. Be-  
“ sides, life will live, and does not require the  
“ assistance of art. I know my constitution,  
“ and am persuaded that the slightest medicine  
“ would disorder my stomach. What say you,  
“ you rogue of a doctor? Do you not think so?”  
—“ Very well, Sire ; but a beverage slightly  
tinctured with emetic .....”—“ What ! an eme-  
“ tic beverage ! is that not a medicine?” At  
last, however, he consented to take it ; but how  
much I had insisted, entreated, disputed !

## 22d.

Night tolerable—sleep broken—slight perspiration—vague pains, sometimes in the liver, sometimes in the stomach, and sometimes also in the viscera of the abdomen—sensation of disgust, produced by the taste of castor oil remaining in the mouth.—Dry and wet fomentations, followed by a very marked relief. At seven A. M. the Emperor was rather better ; he was almost without fever, and felt sufficiently strong to shave and try to dress ; but at nine o'clock the fever increased, accompanied with cold, head-ach, and swelling of the abdomen. The patient experienced a strong degree of oppres-

sion in the epigastric region, and a feeling of suffocation caused by a superabundant secretion of glairous matter in the respiratory and digestive canals. At eleven, administered a quarter of a grain of tartar emetic, which was followed in the course of three-quarters of an hour by abundant vomiting of thick pituitous matters. The sensation of oppression and suffocation were dispelled.—Enema. I advised in vain a slight decoction of dog's-grass.\*—Abundant perspiration—pulse almost calm.

## 23d.

The Emperor slept a little. At two, paroxysm of fever, accompanied by shivering. At ten administered, for the second time, a quarter of a grain of tartar emetic, which was followed by abundant vomiting of matters similar in their nature to those of the preceding day. At five, another paroxysm of fever, icy coldness of the lower extremities, swelling of the abdomen, yawnings, painful sensation in the abdominal viscera, oppression in the stomach, violent constipation. At six, foot-bath of warm water with mustard during twenty minutes. The

\* *Triticum repens*.

patient fell asleep at seven, and woke at eleven P. M. in a violent perspiration.—Enema.

24th.

The Emperor passed the remainder of the night tolerably well. At eight, enema. At ten, the fever had lost a little of its intensity, but the oppression of the epigastric region, and the sensation of suffocation were felt with increased violence. A quarter of a grain of tartar emetic, followed at eleven by abundant vomiting of glairous matter, which afforded considerable relief. At three P. M. exacerbation of fever, more violent than usual. The icy coldness, after having manifested itself at the lower extremities, extended all over the body—yawnings—general anxiety—pain in the head—distension of the abdomen, painful on pressure. The fever continued; the patient experienced a parching thirst, and drank with great pleasure some water sweetened with liquorice.

25th.

Night tolerably quiet, with abundant perspirations. The fever greatly diminished, and the

Emperor already spoke of his approaching recovery ; but the abdomen was still swelled, and I endeavoured to re-establish order in the inucous secretions of the digestive canal. Prescribed, in order to detach the glairous substances, and facilitate their dissolution, a quarter of a grain of tartar emetic dissolved in a pound of whey. Napoleon refused to take it. At ten A. M. tightness of the abdomen—oppression in the epigastric region—pain in the abdomen—general anxiety—heaviness in the head, accompanied by slight vertigoes.—Three enemas without effect. Towards eight in the evening, refrigerant and anodyne fomentations on the abdomen. Pulse extremely irregular, and fever constantly varying in intensity. At eleven P. M. dry fomentations on the abdomen. The patient could not repose a single instant: he was low-spirited, uneasy, and extremely dejected. Anodyne beverages.

26th.

Bad night. At five A. M. enema, followed by some relief. Slight perspiration near the forehead and the upper extremities. At seven,

exacerbation of fever—tightness of the abdomen—borborygmi—oppression in the stomach—head-ach—spirits gloomy and peevish.

The disease assumed every day a more serious character: I was afraid to trust to my own skill, and the Emperor would not have any English physician. I found myself in a state of indescribable perplexity, which was further increased by an indiscreet offer from the Governor.—A physician had arrived, whose skill was incomparable, and who could cure every disorder; he thought the services of such a man might be useful to General Bonaparte, and he therefore placed him at the General's disposal. “In order to be a second edition of Baxter, and make false bulletins! Does the Governor still want to deceive Europe? or is he already thinking of the autopsy? I will not have any man who is in communication with him.” I made no observation upon the suspicions expressed by the Emperor, and seized a moment when he was more tranquil to hazard a few words about the necessity of a consultation.—“A consultation! what would



“ be the use of it ? You all work in the dark :  
“ another physician would not see more than  
“ you do what is passing in my body ; and if  
“ he pretended that he could see more I should  
“ call him a quack, and should lose the little con-  
“ fidence I have still left in the sons of Hippo-  
“ crates. Besides, who should I consult ? Eng-  
“ lishmen, who would be inspired by Hudson !  
“ No, I will have none of them ; I have already  
“ told you so : I prefer letting the crime be ac-  
“ complished ; the stain resulting from it will be  
“ equal to all my sufferings.” The Emperor  
was warm, and I therefore did not insist for the  
moment, but waited until he was more calm,  
when I again pressed the subject. “ You per-  
“ sist !” said he, with a tone of kindness :  
“ well ! I give my consent. Consult with the  
“ physician of the island that you consider  
“ the most skilful.” I applied to Dr. Arnott,  
surgeon of the 20th regiment, and described to  
him the symptoms of the complaint, and the  
principal circumstances of the Emperor’s life.  
His opinion was :

1st. To apply a large blister over the whole  
of the abdominal region.

2d. To administer a purgative.

3d. To make frequent aspersions of vinegar on the forehead.

When I rejoined the patient, the fever had decreased: two enemias afforded a little further relief. The Emperor asked me what was the result of the consultation, and I told him. He shook his head, appeared very little satisfied, and added, "That is English practice."

27th.

Five A. M. The night had been tolerably quiet.—Abundant perspiration—abdomen tight, and painful on pressure. I prescribed a saline mixture, slightly purgative, and an enema.—The Emperor consented to take the last mentioned remedy, and showed repugnance for the other. I insisted: he resisted, and began to question me respecting the composition of this medicine, its efficacy, and the harm it might do.—"It can do no harm, Sire."—"You are certain of it?"—"Quite."—"But if it does?"—"I shall repair the mischief."—"By what means?" I explained to him. "Well!

“prepare the dose: but I warn you that my stomach is not accustomed to your drugs; therefore make your arrangements accordingly.” I prepared the medicine; but he no sooner saw it ready than he began to laugh, and said, “You are in too great a hurry, Doctor: not yet; I will think about it.” We entreated him not to abandon his own defence, and to seek some relief to his sufferings. He grew impatient, and told us that we were all in league together against his poor stomach, that we knew very well that he did not believe either in medicine or medicines; and bade us let him alone. At nine A. M. exacerbation of fever, accompanied by icy coldness, which was chiefly felt at the lower extremities, pain in the head, oppression in the stomach, tightness of the abdomen. Towards evening, and during the night, the intensity of the fever gradually diminished.

The Emperor was frequently in want of me; and to send for me, to go, and return, took up time: he would no longer have it so. “You must be quite exhausted, Doctor,” said he with kindness; “you are constantly dis-

“ turbed, and have not a moment to sleep. I  
“ am not gone yet, and must take care of you :  
“ I will have a bed prepared for you in the next  
“ room.” He accordingly gave immediate orders  
to that effect ; and then, having described the  
symptoms and sensations he experienced, he  
added ; “ Doctor ! we are come to the point in  
“ spite of your pills. Do you not think so ?”—  
“ Less than ever.”—“ Poh ! less than ever ! this  
“ is another medical deception. What effect do  
“ you suppose that my death will produce in  
“ Europe ?”—“ None, Sire.” He did not give  
me time to finish. “ None !”—“ No ; because  
it will not happen.”—“ But if it did happen ?”—  
“ If it did, Sire, then ..... ”—“ Then what ?”—  
“ Your Majesty is the idol of the soldiers ; they  
would be inconsolable, and the nations would be  
at the mercy of kings, and the popular cause for  
ever lost.”—“ Lost ! Doctor—and my son ! Can  
“ you suppose ..... ?”—“ No, Sire, nothing ; but  
what a distance to traverse !”—“ Is it greater  
“ than that I have gone ?”—“ What obstacles  
to overcome !”—“ Had I less obstacles to com-  
“ bat ? Did I start from a higher point ? No,  
“ Doctor ; my son bears my name, and I leave  
“ him my glory, and the affection of my friends :

“ it is not difficult to inherit my estate.” I made no reply : this was the illusion of a father at his last agony, and it would have been too cruel to destroy it.

28th.

Abdomen tight and painful. I proposed a mild purgative ; but as soon as the Emperor heard the name mentioned, he feigned to yield to sleep, let his head fall upon his breast, and stretched himself in his bed. I had recourse to all the usual common-place arguments. He listened to me with his eyes closed, and heaving a deep sigh as soon as he heard that I had finished my homily ; “ What were “ you saying, Doctor ? ” I recommenced my speech, and he recommenced his *manœuvre*, and at last got rid of me in that way. At nine A. M. exacerbation of fever, accompanied by icy coldness at the lower extremities, and a violent head-ach. The remainder of the day was more favourable ; the patient took more food than usual.

29th.

Bad night. — At one A. M. paroxysm of fever—excessive coldness of the lower extremi-

ties — head-ach — swelling of the abdomen. At day-break, enema without effect. At nine A. M. renewed paroxysm of fever — violent pain in the head — somnolency — abundant perspiration. The patient drank largely, and with pleasure, of some wateredulcorated with liquorice.—Tongue covered with a white substance — mouth and throat lined with viscous matters. At two P. M. the fever began to diminish.

The disease was making rapid progress. I again made an attempt, and, at the risk of displeasing the Emperor, entreated him no longer to reject the assistance of medicine. He made no reply, remained a few minutes absorbed in thought, and then said:—"You are right; I shall see: for the moment your attendance is not necessary; you may withdraw." I was going, but he called me back, and began to discuss about fate, whose blows not all the faculties in the world could avert or suspend. I endeavoured to combat this fatal doctrine; but he spoke vehemently, and constantly recurred to his usual sayings, "*Quod scriptum, scriptum*. Can you doubt, Doctor, that every thing that happens is written down; that our

“ hour is marked, and that it is not in the  
“ power of any of us to take from time a por-  
“ tion which nature refuses us?” I ventured  
to contradict him ; he grew angry, and *sent me  
to the devil with my drugs.* I withdrew ; but a  
moment had sufficed to restore him to his natu-  
ral kindness, and before I could reach my room  
he sent for me, and told me that he would  
henceforth behave more respectfully towards  
medicine ; that he would no longer be wanting  
in deference, nor doubt its efficacy. “ But,  
Sire, will your Majesty consent to take medi-  
cines ?” — “ Ah !” replied he, with a tone of  
voice that expressed the excessive repugnance  
he felt, “ that is, perhaps, beyond my power ;  
“ for the aversion I feel for medicines is almost  
“ inconceivable. I exposed myself to dangers  
“ with indifference ; I saw death without emo-  
“ tion : but I cannot, notwithstanding all my  
“ efforts, approach my lips to a cup containing  
“ the slightest preparation. True it is, that I  
“ am a spoilt child, who has never had any  
“ thing to do with physic.” Then turning to  
Madame Bertrand : “ How do you manage to  
“ take all those pills and drugs which the Doc-  
“ tor is constantly prescribing for you ?” — “ I

take them without thinking about it," answered she, "and I advise your Majesty to do the same." He shook his head, and addressed the same question to General Montholon, and to his valets, who had all been more or less indisposed. Having received from all the same answer, he said to me, "I am, then, the only one who rebels against medicine; I will no longer do so: give me your stuff." I accordingly gave him ten grains of extract of rhubarb, which he took, and which produced the desired effect.

30th.

The Emperor had passed a night of extreme agitation. At one A. M. he had taken an enema, and at two P. M. I administered six grains of extract of rhubarb, which produced abundant vomiting of glairous substances. At three paroxysm of fever, with head-ach and icy coldness of the lower extremities. The fever continued the remainder of the day without losing any thing of its intensity.

Eleven P. M.—Restless night. The unfavourable symptoms continued, and the exacerbation of the fever was accompanied by a considerable



degree of tightness in the abdomen, borborygmus, painful sensation and almost intolerable heat in the abdomen and the chest. I repeated the fomentations.—The patient was gloomy and uneasy.

I endeavoured to dispel the melancholy ideas which assailed the Emperor, by speaking to him of some of the men to whom I knew he had been very much attached; such as Dugua, Caffarelli, Kleber. “Kleber was the god Mars  
“in regimentals: he possessed courage, genius  
“of conception, and every requisite qualification;  
“but unfortunately he was too soon removed  
“from the scene of his exploits. I was anxious  
“to attach him to me, and proposed to him to  
“form part of the invasion with which we  
“threatened England. ‘I should like it,’ said  
“he; ‘but if I ask, the lawyers will refuse.’—‘I  
“will arrange that for you,’ answered I.—‘Well,  
“in that case, if you send a fire-ship on the  
“Thames, put Kleber in it, and you will see  
“what he can do.’”

31st.

The unfavourable symptoms which had begun to appear yesterday lasted until this morning.

At daybreak a violent perspiration took place, and the fever lost a great deal of its violence. At eight A. M. a paroxysm returned, but was of short duration. Towards evening the Emperor was much better, but still complaining of the affection in the abdomen. He refused the use of laxative medicines, and took two enemmas.

At nine P. M. new exacerbation of the fever, accompanied by intolerable heat in and tensivity of the abdomen—lethargic somnolency. Towards the middle of the night the fever diminished considerably. I continued the fomentations.

April 1st.

Abundant perspirations : the patient had been tolerably quiet the remainder of the night. At eight A. M. he experienced an exacerbation of fever, accompanied by somnolency, and followed by a violent perspiration. The pulse at ten A. M. gave seventy-five pulsations per minute. Abundant perspirations from the head, the chest, the spine, the upper extremities, and even the abdominal region : the lower extremities alone were free from it. At about eight in the evening another paroxysm occurred, com-

plicated with burning heat and excessive tensility of the abdomen, heaviness in the head, and dry and frequent coughing. I had obtained the Emperor's permission to send for the surgeon of the 20th regiment, to hold a consultation with him. The case was becoming more serious, and I wished to have the benefit of the experience of this practitioner, and asked the Emperor to allow him to be admitted : he consented, and I accordingly introduced Doctor Arnott. The room was dark : Napoleon liked to remain in total darkness, and would not even allow a light to be brought whilst the English physician was with him. He permitted him to feel his pulse, and to examine the state of the abdomen, of which he complained very much ; asked him what he thought of his complaint, and dismissed him, expressing a wish to see him the next day at nine o'clock.

The orderly officer, whose duty it was to certify the presence of Napoleon, was obliged each day to make a report to the Governor, stating that he had seen him : but the Emperor having been confined to his bed ever since the 17th of March, he had been unable to fulfil that part of his

instructions. Sir Hudson thought he was betrayed, and came to Longwood with his suite. He went all round the house ; and seeing nothing, he grew angry, and threatened the officer with the severest punishment if he did not satisfy himself of the presence of *General Bonaparte*.

The officer was placed in a very embarrassing situation ; for he was aware of the Emperor's intention, and had, besides, no expectation that he would ever go out of the house. He applied to General Montholon and Marchand, who, feeling for his perplexity, found means to relieve him from his anxiety, and to enable him to calm the anger of Sir Hudson. It was necessary to arrange matters in such a way as to prevent Napoleon from perceiving the agent of the Governor, or even suspecting his presence. This was not easy to accomplish ; they, however, succeeded.

The Emperor's bed-room was on the ground floor, and the windows were low enough to permit a view of every thing that was going forward in the apartment. Napoleon, habitually

costive, was obliged to resort to enemas ; the seat for that purpose was, on this occasion, placed opposite the window, and whilst General Montholon and myself were near the patient, Marchand gently opened the curtains a little, as if to look out into the garden ; and the officer, who was waiting outside, looked in, saw, and was enabled to make his report. This, however, did not satisfy the Governor ; he dreamt but of flights and evasions, and not a day passed that he did not endeavour to pry into the habitation (*surprendre le seuil*) of his prisoner. At last, on the 31st of March, he declared, that if in the course of that, or at latest the next day, his agent was not enabled to see *General Bonaparte*, he would come to Longwood with his staff, and force his way into the house, without caring for the unpleasant consequences this step might produce. General Montholon endeavoured to induce him to abandon this intention : he represented to him the respect due to misfortune, and how much his unexpected appearance would discompose the Emperor and wound his feelings ; but Sir Hudson turned a deaf ear to these arguments. It was of little concern to him, whether the prisoner lived or

died ; his duty was to secure his person, and that duty he would fulfil. I saw the tiger prowling round the house ; I was suffocating with rage, and was going out, when he stopped me. “ What is *General Bonaparte* doing ? ” — “ I know not. ” — “ Where is he ? ” — “ I cannot say. ” — “ He is not there ? ” (pointing to the cabin.) — “ He is not. ” — “ What ! he has disappeared ? ” — “ Quite. ” — “ How ? When ? ” — “ I do not recollect precisely. ” — “ Endeavour to collect your ideas : since what hour . . . . ? ” — “ What hour ! The last battle he commanded was that of Aboukir. He fought for civilization ; you were protecting barbarism : he defeated your allies, and threw them into the sea ; his victory was complete : I have not heard of him since. ” — “ Doctor ! ” — “ Excellency ! ” — “ All here . . . ” — “ No ! ” — “ Who ? ” — “ I. ” — “ You ? ” — “ I. ” — “ Soldiers ! . . . ” — “ Soldiers ! hasten : fill up the measure of your indignities, by depriving the Emperor of the short remains of his existence. ” — “ The Emperor ! what Emperor ? ” — “ He who made England tremble ; who showed France the way to Dover, and placed in the hands of the Continent the weapon which will sooner or later give the death-blow to your aris-

ocracy." His Excellency marched off, and I remained alone with Reade.—"It is not thus . . ."—"No, surely it is not thus ; that soul must be formed of the mud of the Thames, who can come and watch for the last breath of a dying man : his agony is too long for your impatience ; you wish to hasten it—to enjoy it. The Cimbrian, who had been ordered to kill Marius, drew back appalled at the sight of the crime he was about to commit ; but you . . . Ah ! if opprobrium can be at all commensurate to the outrage, we are fully avenged."

The resolution taken by the Calabrian was too firm, and his own temper too savage, to permit any hope that the rules of decorum or the dictates of humanity would be attended to. Count Bertrand and General Montholon, therefore, sought some other means to appease the storm. They represented to Napoleon that his health required care, and the assistance of a skilful practitioner ; and they were fortunate enough to induce him to call in a consulting physician.—He chose Doctor Arnott, whom the Governor made responsible for the existence of the Emperor, and who was obliged to make every day,

to the orderly officer, a report, which the latter was to transmit to Plantation-House.

## 2d.

The Emperor passed a very restless night; he had abundant clammy perspirations over the head, the spine, the breast, and the upper extremities. He was extremely weak, and his pulse gave seventy-six pulsations per minute. At seven A. M. new paroxysm, accompanied with yawnings, heaviness in the head, and abdominal pains. Dry and frequent coughing.

At nine A. M. I introduced Dr. Arnott to the Emperor, who put several questions to him relative to his disease, complaining of pains in the stomach and the abdomen. The English physician proposed animal food, such as gelatinous or other similar substances, the choice of which must be subordinate to the state of the digestive powers. He further advised that the patient should remain in bed as little as possible, and should use pills of

Extract of socotrine aloes,	} ana, half a drachm.
Hard soap, . . . . .	
Oil of Careum, two drops.	



Twelve pills to be made, and two to be taken in the morning, and two at night. The Emperor manifested extreme repugnance to all medicines, particularly in a liquid state.

Eleven A. M. — Abundant clammy perspiration. Fever considerably diminished.

Three P. M.—Continuation of the perspiration; the swelling of the abdomen increased every moment; oppression in the stomach, accompanied by a sensation of pulsation. The patient refused to take the pills: enemas immediately followed by a slight evacuation.

At a quarter to five, a new exacerbation of fever occurred, accompanied by icy coldness, particularly at the lower extremities.

At seven, some of the servants brought in a report that they had seen a comet towards the east.—“A comet,” exclaimed Napoleon, with emotion, “that was the sign, precursor of the death of Cæsar.” I came in in the midst of the agitation into which this report had thrown him.—“You have seen, Doctor? . . .”—“No,

Sire, nothing." — "How so, the comet?" —  
"There is no comet to be seen!" — "It has  
"been observed." — "That is a mistake; I have  
looked at the sky for a length of time without  
being able to discover any thing of the kind." —  
"Labour lost, Doctor; I am at the end of my  
"career, every thing tells me so; you alone  
"persist in concealing the fact from me: but to  
"what purpose? why should I deceive myself?  
"I am, however, wrong to complain; you are  
"attached to me, and wish to save me the  
"agony of knowing my fate: I feel grateful  
"for your intention."

## 3d.

The patient passed a tolerable night, and slept a great deal. At six in the morning, enema, followed by an abundant evacuation of pituitous matters.

As I was coming from the Emperor, I met Thomas Reade. He was impatient and uneasy, and anxious to see Napoleon inhabit the new house: he spoke to me about it; expressing his surprise that I should allow him to remain and be stifled in ill-ventilated and unwholesome

rooms, whilst we could dispose of magnificent apartments. —“ I understand,” said I : “ murdered in a hovel ! He must expire in a palace : the combination is too British ; I cannot lend myself to it—try elsewhere.”—He did so. I had scarcely brought Dr. Arnott to the Emperor’s bed-side, when he began to descant upon the advantages of moving. Napoleon listened to him without answering a word ; and after a few minutes’ consideration, he turned to me.—“ Is that your opinion, Doctor ? ”—“ No, Sire, the fever is too violent ; the removal from one house to another might be attended with the most serious consequences.” —“ You have heard,” said he to Arnott ; “ we must think no more about it.” The Doctor endeavoured to take up the conversation again, but the Emperor turned a deaf ear, and the subject was dropped.

The Emperor was plunged in a deep melancholy.—Pulse weak, quick, and irregular—pulsations varying from seventy-four to eighty per minute—heat of the body ninety-six degrees of Fahrenheit—skin more damp than usual.—Second enema. The patient perspired very con-

siderably, experienced thirst, but could not eat. He felt a wish to take a little wine, and drank some claret ; but obstinately refused all kind of medicine. At three P. M. third enema, followed by the same results as the two preceding. Between four and five, exacerbations of fever, accompanied by icy coldness at the lower extremities, head-ach, painful tension of the abdomen, dry cough, and violent oppression in the region of the stomach.

The Emperor appeared to me to be in imminent danger, and I communicated my fears to Dr. Arnott, who, far from having the same feeling, augured very favourably of his state. I should have wished to entertain the same hopes, but I could not conceal from myself that Napoleon was drawing near his end. I stated this conviction to Counts Bertrand and Montholon ; and the latter took upon himself to inform the Emperor that his hour was approaching, and to engage him to settle his affairs.

#### 4th.

The fever continued the whole night, with alternations of heat and cold ; particularly

at the lower extremities. The patient experienced a painful tension of the abdomen, parching thirst, painful sensation of suffocation, extreme uneasiness, and general anxiety. His imagination was disturbed by night-mares and frightful dreams.—Nausea—vomiting of glairous matters—abundant perspirations of a clammy nature, particularly about the head, along the back and the upper extremities.

At eight A. M. the Emperor was rather better ; but his pulse was at eighty-four, and the heat of his body was above the natural degree. The patient drank a great deal of water, coloured with claret.

At ten A. M. new exacerbation of fever, accompanied by coldness of the lower extremities, painful heaviness in the head, and violent tension of the abdomen.—Borborygmus.

One P. M.—Paroxysm, accompanied by nausea and glairous vomitings ; which, after violent efforts, were renewed at two o'clock, in greater abundance, and thicker substances.

5th.

The Emperor passed a night of extreme agitation: he had four successive vomitings, and the fever continued to rage with violence until two in the morning, when it began to abate. He was considerably weakened by abundant clammy perspirations about the head, the back, and the breast. The tension of and pain in the abdomen, and the general sensation of uneasiness and anxiety, had not ceased for a single minute.

Napoleon was quite overpowered by his sufferings, and exclaimed several times — “ Ah !  
“ since I was to lose my life in this deplorable  
“ manner, why did the cannon-balls spare it ? ”

At ten A. M. slight exacerbation of the fever. The patient was a little better, but extremely weak; complaining a great deal of pain in the stomach, and taking scarcely any food.

At four P. M. nausea and vomiting of glairous matters.

At six P. M. the patient took a pill composed of extract of socotrine aloes and soap. It left an unpleasant taste in the mouth, which remained the whole evening and part of the night.—Fit of fever.

At ten, diminution of fever, followed by abundant viscous perspiration.

6th.

The night was not unfavourable; the pill, however, produced no effect, and the fever returned with increased violence. The patient's rest was frequently interrupted by parching thirst: he called every moment for something to drink, without being able to quench it. The usual clammy perspiration about the head, the chest, the spine, and the upper extremities, was more abundant than it had yet been. In the morning the fever had greatly diminished—seventy to eighty pulsations a minute—heat almost natural. The patient refused all food, and every kind of medicines.

At noon, the Emperor had fallen into a kind of drowsiness; he persisted in refusing to take any food. I begged him to refresh his mouth

with something.—“ Let me alone, Doctor; do “ not disturb the repose I now enjoy.”

One P. M.—The Emperor took two purgative pills. We proposed the use of cordials, particularly decoction of bark.

Exacerbation of fever, accompanied with icy coldness at the lower extremities, head-ach, pain in the liver and the stomach, and painful tension of the abdomen. The patient appeared very much agitated, and was seized with vomiting of thick pituitous and filaceous substances. The purgative pills produced at last an abundant evacuation of bilious, mucous, and glairous matter.

It was now about twenty days since the Emperor had been able to shave, and he had allowed his beard to grow to such a pitch that it was quite troublesome. I had often endeavoured to persuade him to order one of his servants to shave him, but he had always eluded the subject. At last, however, the inconvenience to him became so intolerable, that he expressed a wish to be shaved. I proposed to him to send for Cursot or some other of his suite; he at



first made no reply, pondered a few minutes, and then said, "I have always shaved myself; nobody has ever put his hand upon my face: I am now without strength, and must, of necessity, resign and submit to that against which my nature has always revolted. But no, Doctor," added he, turning towards me, "it shall not be said that I have thus suffered myself to be touched; it is only you that I will allow to shave me." I had never shaved but my own beard; I therefore pleaded my inexperience, and tried every effort to induce the Emperor to employ a more skilful hand. "Very well, it shall be as you like; but certainly no one but yourself shall ever boast of having put his hands on my face. I shall see, however."

7th.

The patient passed the night in a state of incessant agitation. Borborygmus—violent pain in the head.—At two o'clock in the morning the fever began to decrease, after some abundant partial viscous perspirations; but he remained affected with a slight heaviness in the head, and a general sensation of ailing.—Pulse low, quick, and irregular.

Three P. M.—Two enemas. The Emperor was in tolerably good spirits, and took at four a spoonful of jelly and a roasted apple.

At five the Emperor rose, shaved, and dressed. “ Well, Doctor, not this time yet ! ” — “ I told you, Sire, that your hour was not yet arrived. ” I drew his arm-chair near him ; he sat down, asked for the newspapers, and was perusing them with a certain degree of satisfaction, when he met with I know not what offensive anecdote respecting two of his generals, which was said to have been related by one of us. His countenance assumed an expression of severity ; his eye became sparkling. “ It is you, Sir, who “ circulate such infamous anecdotes ; and it is “ in my name that you relate them ! What in- “ duces you, what prompts you to act in that “ way ? What is your object ? Is it to repre- “ sent me as keeping a school of defamation “ that you have followed me here ? What ! it “ is I who degrade and dishonour my friends, “ my partisans, those who have attached them- “ selves to my fortune ? Wherefore do you “ tarry ? What detains you ? Hasten to Eu- “ rope ; you will write ‘ Letters from the Cape,’ ”

“ or ‘ from the Mediterranean,’ or some other  
“ place ; for there is no difficulty in framing a  
“ libel. The emigrants will applaud, I shall not  
“ be there to contradict your assertions, and  
“ you will enjoy your falsehood : go !” The  
individual, thus admonished, withdrew. Napoleon continued : “ No doubt faults were com-  
“ mitted, but who is exempt from faults ?  
“ The citizen, in the quiet tenor of his easy life,  
“ has his moments of weakness and strength ;  
“ and it is required that men grown old in the  
“ midst of the hazards of war, who have con-  
“ stantly had to contend with all kinds of diffi-  
“ culties, should never have been inferior to  
“ themselves at any moment—should have al-  
“ ways exactly hit the mark !”

At six P. M. the patient took a purgative pill : we again proposed to him the decoction of bark. He took some arrow-root, two spoonfuls of jelly, and a little water mixed with red wine. Between nine and ten, paroxysm, accompanied by the usual symptoms. At eleven, partial, clammy perspiration, in greater abundance than ever.

8th.

Very bad night.—Pulse, without being fever-

ish, was weak, quick, and irregular. The Emperor, at seven A. M., took a few spoonfuls of arrow-root and jelly. At twelve he again took some jelly and two biscuits, with a little Frontignan wine. At three P. M. he consented to take a decoction of one ounce of bark, mixed with a few drops of spirituous tincture of the same drug. Towards night he again took some jelly, and a vermicelli soup.—Purgative pill.

## 9th.

The Emperor passed a tolerably good night: he took some tea, acidulated with citron juice, and at three o'clock in the morning an ounce of decoction of bark with spirituous tincture of the same substance, and at day-break he was seized with vomiting of glairous matters.—Pulse weak and irregular; seventy-two to eighty pulsations per minute. The patient was uneasy and gloomy.—Extreme prostration of strength.

## 10th.

Nothing very particular. The patient experienced continued nausea, and rejected almost all the food he took. His strength more and more on the decline. Pulse seventy-two.

The Emperor thought, however, that he felt better. "The crisis is over, and I am now  
"fallen again into the same state in which I  
"have been languishing for the last eight  
"months, very weak and no appetite, and  
"then . . ." (he placed his hand on the right hypochondriac region;) "it is there, in the liver.  
"Ah! Doctor, to what a latitude they have consigned me!" He hung down his head, and remained motionless until the moment when the surgeon of the 20th, who had asked his permission to feel his liver, endeavoured to persuade him that the organ he complained of was sound. He cast upon him a look which was assuredly not one of conviction, shook his head, appeared thoughtful for a moment, and said to him with a kind of sarcastic smile, "It  
"is well, Doctor; I am obliged to you for the  
"hope you endeavour to restore to me: go."—  
We both withdrew.

11th.

During the night vomitings had occurred. The repetition of these accidents became alarming, and I was very desirous of putting a stop to it, and proposed an anodyne anti-emetical mixture. But he refused to take it, and grew

impatient; and I therefore did not insist. I had retired to my apartment, when he sent for me. "Doctor," said he, when I came into the room, "your patient will henceforward obey medicine; he is resolved to take the remedies you prescribe." Then looking at those of his servants who were standing round his bed, he added, with a gentle smile: "Begin by physicking all those rascals, and physick yourself; you all stand in need of medicines." Hoping to stimulate his *amour propre*, we all tasted the mixture. "Well, well," said he, "I will not be the only one who shall not dare to face a dose. Come, give it quickly!" I presented the cup to him; he swiftly carried it to his mouth, and swallowed its contents at one draught. Unfortunately, however, it produced very little effect; the vomiting continued, and occurred three times between half past five and seven A. M.—Pulse in the same state as on the preceding days.

At eleven o'clock the Emperor got out of bed, and remained an hour in his arm-chair. He took a spoonful of distilled cinnamon-water mixed with common water.

One P. M.—Icy coldness at the lower extremities, which I endeavoured to dispel by fomentations. “No,” said he, “it is not there—it is  
“in the stomach, in the liver, that the disease  
“resides. You have no remedies against the  
“burning heat which consumes me; no preparations, no medicines, capable of slaking the fire  
“that rages within me!” Arnott attempted once more to persuade him that the liver was sound. “It must be so, since such is Hudson’s decree!” After the most violent efforts, another vomiting of glairous substances occurred, followed by hiccup. Sleep light, and often interrupted by a sensation of suffocation produced by the great quantity of glairous matter secreted in the throat and the larynx.—The whitish and viscous substance which covered the tongue had disappeared; but in its stead that membrane was enveloped by a coat of transparent pituitous matter.

At two P. M. I administered a tea-spoonful of anti-emetic mixture, and at five the patient took some jelly, two spoonfuls of Frontignan wine, and two biscuits.

Nine P. M.—Usual purgative pill. The Emperor complained, for some time after having swallowed it, that it inconvenienced him very much, and produced in his stomach an intolerable sensation of heaviness. Towards the middle of the night abundant vomiting of glairous matters. The pulse in a state of apyrexia, weak, quick, and irregular. At midnight the patient took a little jelly, with two spoonfuls of claret. He could not sleep a single moment. Painful abdominal tension.

12th.

The Emperor passed a very restless night. At three and four in the morning, glairous vomitings. His strength continues to decline.

At seven A. M. he took a little jelly, with three spoonfuls of red wine, and in an hour afterwards two more spoonfuls of jelly.

Eleven A. M.—Vomiting of thick pituitous matter. The Emperor took a little jelly, a spoonful of red wine, and a little hot wine with toasted bread in it.



The Emperor got up at one P. M., and was supported to his arm-chair; but in half an hour afterwards he experienced an icy coldness in the lower extremities, and was obliged to get into bed again. At two, enema. The patient very much agitated the remainder of the day, and the short intervals of light sleep which he had were interrupted by a sensation of suffocation. Nausea, followed by abundant vomiting of glairous matters. Sleep, during which his whole frame was convulsed—kind of continual mastication.

At eight P. M. the patient took with pleasure a few spoonfuls of rice-cream.

At nine, another attack of fever, accompanied with icy coldness of the lower extremities, and all the other symptoms with which these attacks are usually complicated. I endeavoured to dispel it. — “Many thanks for  
“ your care, Doctor; it is labour lost: the as-  
“ sistance of medicine is unavailing; the hour  
“ has struck; my disease is mortal. Dr. Arnott,  
“ do not people sometimes die of debility? How  
“ is it possible to live with so little food?”

13th.

Night extremely agitated. The rice-cream eaten by Napoleon was thrown up by vomiting, with a large quantity of glairous matters. The prostration of strength goes on increasing.—Simple enema.—Violent oppression on the stomach. At seven A. M. the patient took some jelly. At ten, vomiting of glairous matters.—Enema.—The patient took a little more jelly, and a roasted apple.

The Emperor refused to continue to take the purgative pills. I endeavoured to triumph over his repugnance, and strongly urged him to overcome a slight feeling of disgust.—“Are they well wrapt up, well covered?”—“Yes, Sire.”—“They will not poison my mouth?”—“Your Majesty will not even perceive that they have any taste at all.”—“Indeed!”—“Assuredly.”—“Well, then, you rogue, swallow them,” said he to Marchand; who immediately obeyed, protesting they were not at all disagreeable to take.—“I told you so: is it not true, Doctor, that he required physicking, and that my pills will do him good?”—“They

“cannot do harm.”—“Give him more: for my part, I shall not take any of them again; I prefer enemas—they are the simplest and most efficacious of remedies. The English,” added he, jokingly, “are ashamed to use them; but I am not so squeamish, and submit to necessity.”

At about noon, two successive glairous vomitings. At one P. M. the Emperor got up, was supported to his arm-chair, and took the usual dose of tincture of bark; but in the course of half an hour he was taken back to his bed. He then asked for paper and an inkstand, and gave directions that he might not be disturbed in his apartment. Count Montholon and Marchand were the only two persons who went in.

At eight P. M. Napoleon took a little jelly, and a few spoonfuls of arrow-root. The fever continued with very irregular intermissions and paroxysms. The patient said that he felt he was growing weaker every day, and that all his strength was forsaking him.

14th.

The Emperor passed a very bad night. The fever diminished after abundant partial clammy perspirations. The prostration of strength was still considerable, but not so great as on the preceding day.

At seven A. M. the patient took some tea acidulated with juice of citron—at eight some chocolate—at nine a little jelly—at half-past nine some hot wine and toasted bread; and at a quarter past ten two cakes (*gauffres*).

At noon the morbid symptoms were much abated, and the patient was in pretty good spirits and took another portion of hot wine. He received Doctor Arnott in the most affable manner; explaining to him the sensations he experienced, and questioning him as to what was to be done for him: then suddenly starting from medicine to war, he began to talk about the English armies, and the generals by which they were successively commanded, and passed a most magnificent encomium upon

Marlborough. The Emperor was better ; hope was reviving in my breast ; I could not suppress the manifestation of a movement of gaiety ; he perceived it, cast a look upon me, and continued : “ Marlborough was not a man “ whose mind was narrowly confined to the “ field of battle ; he fought and negotiated ; he “ was at once a captain and a diplomatist. “ Has the 20th regiment got his Campaigns ? ” — “ I think not. ” — “ Well ! I have there a copy “ of them, which I am glad to offer to that “ brave regiment. Take it, Doctor ; and you “ will place it in their library as coming from “ me. ” The Doctor took the work, and withdrew. “ What was the matter with you ? ” said Napoleon, when we were alone. “ Nothing, Sire ; a recollection of the song of *Malbrouck*, with which I was lulled to sleep in my infancy, recurred to my mind ; and I should have burst out into a fit of laughter, had I not been in presence of your Majesty. ” — “ Such is the effect “ of ridicule ; it casts a stigma upon every “ thing, even victory. ” The Emperor himself was laughing, and began to hum the first verse of the song. We were handling Marlborough humorously, but his Excellency was not so

tractable. He perceived the edition of the Campaigns under Dr. Arnott's arm, disapproved of his having taken it, and would not allow the book to come in contact with the 20th regiment. Arnott, disconcerted, became fearful in his turn lest the work should give him the plague, and hastened to deposit it with the orderly officer, who was a captain of that regiment, and who, less timorous, did not hesitate to receive it. This act of impropriety angered Hudson; he hastened to the spot, threatened, and removed the officer from his post. He fully deserved this treatment, for he had accepted a book which Arnott had delivered to him.

At two P. M. vomiting of glairous substances, which was almost immediately followed by violent convulsive agitations, which lasted about an hour and a half.—Pulse weak and intermittent—icy coldness—cold and clammy perspirations—painful tension of the abdomen—head-ach—oppression in the stomach—general atony. Napoleon rose twice in the course of the day, but with great difficulty, and only remained up a short time. Towards evening the prostration of strength increased.

At seven P. M. the patient took some broth with toasted bread, and a little jelly. He passed the remainder of the evening quietly, and enjoyed a little sleep, until eleven P. M., when he was awakened by violent nausea, followed by vomiting of glairous matters.

15th.

The Emperor passed a bad night; he was drowsy, covered with cold viscous perspirations, and experienced a general sensation of coldness. His pulse, though scarcely perceptible, gave upwards of a hundred pulsations a minute. Breathing short and difficult, frequently interrupted by prolonged sighs—violent nausea.

At five A. M. vomiting of glairous substances. During the night the patient took at intervals a little jelly, and a spoonful of wine mixed with water.

At seven A. M. he took a soup of vermicelli, and at nine he was a little better; his pulse was stronger, but now and then intermittent. Heat of the body at the natural temperature.

A dose of the decoction of bark, with a tincture of the same substance, appeared to abate the tendency to vomiting.

At ten A. M. the Emperor took some chocolate. The pulse became more regular, giving ninety pulsations per minute, but still weak and depressed. At one, vomiting as before.

At half past one the Emperor ordered the door of his apartment to be closed for every body except General Montholon and Marchand, who both remained with him until six o'clock. When I entered the room I found the carpet strewn with papers torn up; and observed that every thing was ticketed, and bore an address. Napoleon had made an inventory of all his effects, and assigned to each object a special destination. — “My preparations are made, Doctor: I am going; it is all over with me.” I was representing to him that there were still many chances in his favour, and that his case was not desperate: but he stopped me.—“No more illusion; I know the truth, and am resigned.”



At six P. M. the patient was seized with a violent convulsive agitation, which lasted two hours. Painful tension of the abdomen—deep pain in the liver. In the course of the evening he complained of extreme weakness, and appeared tired from having written too much.—Two enemias. Food light and varied.

16th.

The Emperor had passed a tolerably quiet night, although constantly covered with a cold and clammy perspiration; and though his sleep had been frequently interrupted by spasmodic contractions in the throat, accompanied by a violent sensation of suffocation.—Pulse irregular, weak, and depressed; and varying from eighty to one hundred pulsations per minute. Heat of the body below the natural temperature—colour cadaverous—skin damp and clammy. The illustrious patient continued still to take some food; but it was evident that the vital powers were fast declining.

At one o'clock P. M. the door of the Emperor's apartment was again closed to all.

but General Montholon and Marchand, who remained with him until five o'clock. When I was again admitted, I found Napoleon exhausted, and manifested my uneasiness respecting the state in which he was.—“It proceeds,” said he, “from having been a long while engaged in business; I have written too much.” Then placing his hand upon the right hypochondriac region, and upon the epigastric region, — “Ah! Doctor, what sufferings! what oppression! I feel at the left extremity of the stomach a pain that quite overpowers me.”—Icy coldness at the lower extremities—general anxiety. In the course of the evening, however, there was a visible improvement; but he had taken rather too much food, and the digestion was extremely laborious. Breathing heavy and difficult -- pulse, more and more irregular and depressed.—Enema. The patient passed the remainder of the evening in a state of agitation and somnolency which he could not overcome. I endeavoured to administer relief but he refused my assistance; I presented to him once more a medicine, but he pushed it from him, turning away his head, and said to me, “Doctor, you ought to marry; I must.

arrange a marriage for you." — "For me, Sire?" — "Yes, you." — I remained silent, at a loss to conceive to what conclusion he was going to arrive. "You are too warm, too quick; you want something to calm your impetuosity. Marry, therefore, an English woman; her iced blood will temper the fire which animates you, and you will be less temerarious." — "My object, Sire, was to administer relief to your Majesty; I had no intention of doing any thing that might displease you." — "I know it, Doctor; and therefore your patient will be henceforward more obedient: give me the medicine." I handed it to him, and he took it and swallowed it at a single draught, saying, "When a man has been guilty of irreverence towards Galen, it is thus that the sin must be expiated."

17th.

The pulse had remained in the same state of depression, quickness, and irregularity, until half-past one in the morning, when a vomiting occurred, and the food the patient had taken was returned undigested. This occurred again in about an hour afterwards, with greater violence.

The remainder of the night passed in extreme agitation, general coldness, clammy perspiration, sensation of painful suffocation; sleep frequently interrupted; the weakness and irregularity of the pulse were gradually increasing, and at daybreak it became quite imperceptible; excessive atony.

At six o'clock A. M. the Emperor took the usual draught of decoction and tincture of bark. This medicine appeared to afford relief, and he was much better the remainder of the day; he ate more than usual, and got up twice.

I had observed that the Emperor was not so ill when the first passages were free; and I endeavoured to produce this effect by a few laxatives. He was tormented by thirst, but the use of syrups, and beverages made with liquorice, had produced disgust. He had not yet used lemonade nor orangeade; and as these preparations could not but be beneficial to him, I prescribed them: the difficulty was to procure lemons and oranges; those grown in the island being so acid and so bitter, that I hardly dared to use them. This, however, became a matte

of necessity, as I could not find any of those imported from the Cape. I picked out a few of the best, and cleaned them as well as I could, but all were so abominably bad that the Emperor thought he was poisoned. “Doctor! what beverage is that? What a horrible mixture!”—“It is lemonade, Sire.”—“Lemonade!” He remained silent a few minutes, and his head sunk upon his breast. “Exposed to every insult, and to every privation! in what hands I am fallen!”

I proposed the cathartic pills, but Napoleon refused to take them. His pulse had become more regular, and gave seventy-six pulsations per minute—heat of the body very nearly at the natural temperature. The patient ate a little hashed pheasant, and drank a spoonful of red wine in double that quantity of water. At eight P. M. he took the usual dose of decoction of bark, but it did not prevent the rejection in an hour afterwards of all the food he had eaten.

18th.

Extremely bad night—sensation of intolerable pain and heat in the abdomen—icy cold-

ness and clammy perspiration all over the body—continual nausea and vomiting, which were prolonged until half-past four o'clock in the morning. The patient was low-spirited, and ascribed the state in which he was to the tonic draught he had taken the day before. Urine turbid—pulse low and irregular—heat of the body below the natural temperature—skin rather clammy. He took some food, which the stomach in part retained. He rose, went to bed again; rose once more, in a state of inquietude which he could not conquer. At five the pulse was still low and irregular: it gave from eighty to ninety pulsations per minute.

Two P. M.—Enema. I proposed to Napoleon some medicines which I thought useful. “No!” said he, with the tone of a man who has made up his mind: “England calls for my corpse; I will not keep her waiting, and shall die very well without drugs.”

“He is not yet come to that,” said Arnott to us. “Is he not?” said I: “in what state do you then conceive him to be? You diffuse hope amongst us; but what are your motives? State

your opinion ; give me grounds for sharing it." I analyzed and recapitulated the symptoms of the disease ; and the Doctor soon abandoned a conviction which he did not really entertain. We withdrew, and the conversation became serious and medical, relating chiefly to the nature of the disorder. Arnott spoke of scirrhus, of hereditary affections. I observed to him, that Hudson was unquestionably the first gaoler in the world, but that his physiological conceptions required the sanction of time. He exclaimed against the imputation : I replied that it was a just one, and he did not insist. But Napoleon himself was incessantly talking of scirrhus : he had the conviction that he was attacked with an affection of that kind ! He confounded nature with the latitude, and ascribed to one what was due alone to the other. " The latitude is good, and the climate very healthy ; we are as well here as we were in England."—" You, Doctor, in particular. But you are so used to sufferings, that you make light of illness : you consider eight or nine months in bed as a trifle ; you are not so particular."—" It is true that I have paid my tribute to the latitude, and that I have even been exposed to severe

trials ; but a particular case decides nothing.”—  
“No ; not even the particular case of that great number of soldiers who are lying in your hospitals ?”—“ Oh ! they are exhausted by the fatigues of the service : day and night .....”—  
“ What ! the climate .....”—“ No ; upon my word, the climate has nothing to do with their case. The air is pure and temperate ; we enjoy the plenitude of our powers : we should not be better in our own native country.”—“ Nor we neither ?”—“ I think not.”—“ But if we suffer .....”—“ It is because it is your lot to suffer ; the crisis you experience is one of those which situation neither remedies nor increases.”—  
“ And you think Napoleon in the same case ?”—  
—“ Certainly : men live and die every where ; their end must come, just as the hour must strike. We are like clocks that go during a given time, after which the pendulum stops, and neither air nor temperature can prolong its movement.”—“ No doubt ! and no doubt also that to breathe an air that is alternately warm, cold, dry, and damp ; to be exposed twenty times in the space of an hour to the most sudden transitions of temperature,—does not exhaust the vital powers !”—“ You exaggerate ; such is



not the case. There! see how fine the weather is."—"But how was it just now?"—"There was a slight shower, a cloud; but before that how calm! What pure air! it was the true tropical climate."—"And a little before that?"—"A few drops of rain; another slight shower."—"Yes; and then wind, fog, and all the variations of the atmosphere, in the course of the morning."—"You cite a solitary instance."—"Not at all; it is the usual state of the weather."—"No."—"Yes."—"I have made observations."—"Here are some also; let us reckon, and see whether it is without reason that you have thrown Napoleon upon this rock. *April*, two days and a half fine weather; *May*, two days; *June*, three days. You do not believe me? look at the statement, here it is:—

## METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

*Made at LONGWOOD during the years 1816 and 1817.*

Date.	Fahrenheit* at Noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1816		
April 1	73°	Light rain.
2	72	Do.
3	73	Do.
4	72	Tolerably fair.
5	72	Rain.
6	72	Rain and fog.
7	70	Do. do.
8	70	Do. do.
9	71	Light rain.
10	68	Rain and fog.
11	70	Do. do.
12	66	Do. do.
13	69	Do. do.
14	68	Do. do.
15	70	Do. do.
16	70	Do. do.
17	66	Do. do.
18	68	Do. do.
19	69	Do. do.
20	70	Rain.
21	70	Do.
22	70	Do. and fog.
23	72	Do. P.M.
24	67	Do. and fog.
25	70	Fine weather.
26	70	Do.
27	69	Fine weather A.M.; light rain P.M.
28	68	Light rain.
29	66	Do. and high wind.
30	69	Much rain and do.

\* 32° and 212° of Fahrenheit correspond with 0° and 80° of Reaumur:—thus, 68° Fahr.=16° Reaumur, &c.

“ This is inconceivable ! Two days and a half ! only two days and a half ! But, Sir, after all, it is not so strange ; that month of April was every where rainy : *May*, I am sure, was drier.”

Date.	Fahrenheit at Noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
1816.		
<i>May</i> 1	70	Light rain.
2	69	Do.
3	70	Very light rain.
4	68	Rain.
5	70	Do.
6	70	Do.
7	69	Do.
8	66	Do.
9	68	Do.
10	66	Do.
11	69	Do.
12	68	Do.
13	70	Very light rain.
14	68	Rain.
15	70	Do.
16	68	Do.
17	70	Light rain.
18	70	Rain.
19	68	Do.
20	66	Do.
21	70	Light rain.
22	72	Fine weather.
23	72	Light rain.
24	70	Do.
25	68	Do.
26	68	Fine weather.
27	68	Light rain.
28	65	Do.
29	65	Rain.
30	66	Do.
31	65	Do.

“Two days! only two days! Is that possible? Your observations are not exact; there is some mistake, I will answer for it.”—“Perhaps you would have more confidence in the result of observations made by Mr. Jennings?”—“Unquestionably, the statements of that skilful meteorologist . . . .”—“Are precisely the same as those I have just shewn you.”—“The same as these! —“Precisely.”—“It is hardly credible.”—“It is rather unfortunate.”—“So that we have no longer any fixed principle to guide us?”—“No, nor any subject for idyls after the Hudson fashion.”—“Perhaps the following month, *June*, was more favourable?”

Date.	Morn.	Noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
	Fahr.	Fahr.	
<i>June</i> 1	...	64	Rain and fog.
2	...	64	Do.
3	...	64	Light rain.
4	...	64	Do.
5	...	64	Do.
6	...	63	Do.
7	...	63	A. M. light rain.
8	...	64	Light rain.
9	...	62	Rain and wind.
10	...	60	Rain, wind, and fog.
11	...	64	A. M. rain, wind, and fog.
12	60	62	{ Wind—generally speaking, fine weather.
13	60	62	Wind, rain.
14	...	64	Light rain.
15	...	64	Fine weather.
16	61	65	Alternations of rain and fine weather.

Date.	Morn.	Noon.	OBSERVATIONS.
	Fahr.	Fahr.	
<i>June</i> 17	60	64	Rain.
18	...	63	Do.
19	...	...	Fog and wind.
20	...	64	Rain and wind.
21	...	...	Do.
22	...	62	Rain, wind, and fog.
23	...	...	Wind, but fine weather.
24	61	64	Wind and fine weather.
25	...	...	Rain. P. M. rain and wind.
26	...	...	Rain and wind.
27	...	63	Do.
28	60	...	Light rain.
29	61	64	Do.—fog.
30	60	...	Do.—do.

“Worse still! your observations have not been correctly made. It would be impossible to live in such a state of the atmosphere; the strongest man would fall a prey to it.”—  
 “What! to the influence of the climate, without hereditary diseases?” — “The old story repeated over and over again; as if England had nothing to do but to count the drops of rain that fall here. The meteorological state of St. Helena . . .”—“Was known in England. Beatson had been studying it ever since 1811, and was in communication with the Admiralty, and in correspondence with the Royal Society; every thing was therefore

known, and it is upon that knowledge that the choice was made.”—“How, Sir! you pretend . . .”—“That the character of your aristocracy is perfectly moral; that its members do not pursue their enemies either by the sword or poison; that they administer air to them, and do deliberately what others do in moments of anger. To be five years discussing and accomplishing the death of one man is an instance of perseverance which makes one shudder, and such as your nation alone could give.”

19th.

The night passed quietly; the patient did not experience any return of vomiting, and asked for some fried potatoes. He found himself better, ate more than the day before, and took with pleasure a vermicelli soup, which the stomach did not reject. Pulse weak and depressed; but regular, giving seventy-six pulsations per minute—heat of the body at the natural temperature—skin neither too damp nor too dry—expression of the features animated.

At two P. M. the Emperor rose and seated himself in his arm-chair; he was in good spirits,

finding himself much better than usual, and asked to be read to. Seeing that General Montholon rejoiced in that amelioration of health, and that I also, without however being able to assign any cause for it, as I did not entertain any more hope than before, gave way to the same feeling, he looked at us with a placid smile, and said: "My friends, you are not mistaken; I am better to-day, but I feel, nevertheless, that my end is approaching. After my death, every one of you will have the consolation of returning to Europe: some of you will see their relations again, others their friends, and I shall join my brave companions in the Elysian Fields. Yes," added he, raising his voice, "Kleber, Dessaix, Bessières, Duroc, Ney, Murat, Massena, Berthier, will all come to meet me; they will speak to me of what we have done together, and I will relate to them the last events of my life. On seeing me again they will all become once more mad with enthusiasm and glory, and we will talk of our wars with the Scipios, Hannibal, Cæsar, Frederick. There will be pleasure in that,—unless," added he, laughing, "it should create an alarm in the next world to see so many

“ warriors assembled together.” At this moment Arnott came in; the Emperor stopped, received him in the most affable manner, spoke to him for some time, and asked him some very judicious questions respecting his disorder. He told the Doctor that he felt, each time he rose, a painful sensation and a violent heat in the stomach, which invariably produced nausea and vomiting: then suddenly abandoning the natural sequel of the conversation, he took a review of his present situation, and still addressing Doctor Arnott, but with a tone of greater animation and solemnity, “ It is all over with me, Doctor,” said he: “ the blow is struck; I am near my end, “ and shall soon surrender my body to the earth. “ Bertrand! approach, and translate to this “ gentleman what you are going to hear; it is “ the relation of a series of indignities worthy of “ the hand which has bestowed them: express “ my full meaning; do not omit a single word.

“ I had come to seek the hospitality of “ the British people; I asked for a generous “ protection, and, to the subversion of every “ right held sacred upon earth, chains were the “ reply I received. I should have experienced



“ a different reception from Alexander; the Em-  
“ peror Francis would have treated me with  
“ more respect and kindness; and even the  
“ King of Prussia would have been more ge-  
“ nerous. It was reserved for England to de-  
“ ceive and excite the Sovereigns of Europe,  
“ and give to the world the unheard-of spec-  
“ tacle of four great powers cruelly leagued  
“ together against one man. Your Ministers  
“ have chosen this horrible rock, upon which  
“ the lives of Europeans are exhausted in less  
“ than three years, in order to end my existence  
“ by \* \* \* \* \*. And how have I been treated  
“ since my arrival here? There is no species  
“ of indignity or insult that has not been ea-  
“ gerly heaped upon me. The simplest family  
“ communications, which have never been in-  
“ terdicted to any one, have been refused to me.  
“ No news, no papers from Europe, have been  
“ allowed to reach me; my wife and son have  
“ no longer existed for me; I have been kept  
“ six years in the tortures of close confinement.  
“ The most uninhabitable spot on this inhos-  
“ pitable island, that where the murderous  
“ effects of a tropical climate are most severely  
“ felt, has been assigned to me for a residence;

“ and I, who used to ride on horseback all over  
“ Europe, have been obliged to shut myself up  
“ within four walls, in an unwholesome atmo-  
“ sphere. I have been destroyed piecemeal by a  
“ premeditated and protracted \* \* \* \* \*, and  
“ the \* \* \* \* \* Hudson has been the executer  
“ of the high deeds and exploits of your Minis-  
“ ters.” The Emperor continued to speak for  
some time with the same warmth, and ended  
by these words: “ You will end like the proud  
“ republic of Venice ; and I, dying upon this  
“ dreary rock, away from those I hold dear,  
“ and deprived of every thing, bequeath the  
“ opprobrium and horror of my death to the  
“ reigning family of England.”

At about four P. M. the Emperor felt him-  
self very ill ; his strength failed him, and he  
sunk into a kind of fainting fit. He was,  
however, a little better towards evening, and  
at eight o'clock took some food without ex-  
periencing any vomiting ; after which he slept  
until half-past eleven, when he suddenly woke,  
bathed in cold and clammy perspiration. The  
abdomen was distended, and he felt a violent  
heat in all the viscera contained in that ca-

vity ; the throat was dry and burning, and the patient experienced a parching thirst; but he could not swallow any liquid without great difficulty, and manifested a kind of aversion to cold water. Pulse nervous, quick, and variable, giving eighty, ninety, and a hundred pulsations per minute.

20th.

The symptoms of the preceding day lasted until three o'clock in the morning, when the patient took some food and was a little better. Pulse still weak, but more regular than before, giving seventy-six pulsations per minute ; heat of the body apparently at the natural temperature.—Enema. The patient was tolerably quiet during the evening, but complained, however, of a painful sensation and intolerable heat in the stomach, and of troublesome nausea. It was only by abstaining from the slightest motion that he could avoid vomiting. He asked to be read to, according to his custom, and fell asleep almost immediately. The reading was, however, continued, it being usual not to interrupt it without his order. He woke, and inquired what was the subject they were reading about, and being told it was about priests, and the

opposition he had met with from that class of men, whom the author of the work described as unquiet, full of hatred, and insensible to favours,—“ That author raves,” said he ; “ the  
“ priests were the class of men that gave me  
“ the least trouble. They were at first all  
“ against me ; I allowed them to wear violet-  
“ coloured stockings, and from that moment  
“ they were all for me.

21st.

The Emperor had scarcely slept at all, yet he was rather better than on the preceding day. At four o'clock he took some food, which did not occasion vomiting ; and at daybreak he felt himself strong enough to get up and pass three hours, partly dictating and partly writing. This occupation did not at first incommode him, but towards nine o'clock vomiting took place, the patient rejected part of the food he had taken, and was very unwell the remainder of the day. At half-past one he sent for Vignali.—“ Abbé,” said he, “ do you know  
“ what a *chambre-ardente*\* is ?”—“ Yes, Sire.”

\* A room in which dead bodies lie in state.

—“ Have you ever officiated in one ?”—“ Never, Sire.”—“ Well, you shall officiate in mine.”—He then entered into the most minute detail on that subject, and gave the priest his instructions at considerable length. His face was animated and convulsive, and I was following with uneasiness the contraction of his features, when he observed in mine I know not what expression which displeased him.—“ You are above those weaknesses,” said he, “ but what is to be done ? I am neither a philosopher nor a physician. I believe in God, and am of the religion of my father. It is not every body who *can* be an Atheist.” Then turning again to the priest—“ I was born a Catholic, and will fulfil the duties prescribed by the Catholic religion, and receive the assistance it administers. You will say mass every day in the chapel, and will expose the holy sacrament during forty hours. After my death, you will place your altar at my head in the room in which I shall lie in state ; you will continue to say mass, and perform all the customary ceremonies, and will not cease to do so until I am under ground.”

The Abbé withdrew, and I remained alone with Napoleon, who censured my supposed incredulity. “How can you carry it so far?” said he. “Can you not believe in God, whose existence every thing proclaims, and in whom the greatest minds have believed?”—“But, Sire, I have never doubted it. I was following the pulsations of the fever, and your Majesty thought you perceived in my features an expression which they had not.”—“You are a physician,” replied he laughing, and then added, in an under-tone, “Those people have only to do with matter; they never will believe any thing.”

Half past three P. M.—Sensation of intolerable pain in the abdomen—heaviness in the head—general coldness—extreme prostration of strength—somnolency—pulse irregular and feverish, giving from seventy-five to eighty pulsations per minute—breathing difficult—oppression in the stomach—frequent and insipid ructations. At six o'clock these symptoms had gradually subsided, and the Emperor asked for some food, of which the stomach rejected

part at seven o'clock. He slept uninterruptedly the whole evening.

22d.

The patient had passed a good night, and the pulse was in the same state as the day before. At eight A.M. he was peevish and low-spirited, complaining of a violent pain in the stomach, accompanied by a sensation of suffocation. He tried to eat; but he soon experienced violent nausea, and rejected the food he had just taken, and at the same time part of that of the preceding day. He was, however, altogether better, and passed the day half awake and half asleep, without eating any thing.—Enema. The pulse had become weaker, and varied from eighty to ninety pulsations per minute. The patient consented to take the following draught:—

*Magnesiæ Sulphatis* ℥vj. Solve in *aquæ puræ* octa:  
*Adde Infus. Gentianæ compositæ* ℥vj, et *Tinct. compositæ ejusdem* ℥ss.  
*℞. mixtura, cujus sumat cochlearia tria ampla subinde.*

At about three P. M. vomiting of food mixed with glairous substances. In an hour afterwards the patient took some broth, an egg,

some sorrel, and after a short interval some pheasant dressed with peas. Exacerbation of fever near six o'clock: he thought he felt himself stronger than usual, and was extremely loquacious.—“ You told me so, Doctor: it is “ there; yes, it is there that the seat of the “ disorder is. I feel it, the stomach is attacked; “ but ——” He lifted his eyes towards heaven, and remained silent. At half-past eight he wished to take some broth and a little jelly, both of which he rejected towards ten. He could not sleep during a great part of the night. Urine turbid, and depositing a sediment.

## 23d.

The Emperor did not sleep before two o'clock in the morning, and even then for a short time only, for he woke at three. The fever had decreased.—Extreme prostration of strength—incessant somnolency—heat of the body nearly at the natural temperature, and pulse varying from seventy-eight to eighty-four pulsations per minute.

At seven A. M. he took a vermicelli soup, with a little jelly. At eleven, an ounce of the



mixture ordered yesterday. At one P. M. he took a little food and a few spoonfuls of coffee, and ordered the door of his apartment to be closed for all except General Montholon and Marchand, with whom he remained shut up until half past five. He had written a great deal, and was tired; the whole frame appeared to feel the effects of so prolonged an occupation, and his agitation was extreme. In about an hour afterwards he experienced another crisis of fever, without, however, being much indisposed from it. He took the saline and bitter mixture of which we have already spoken.

At seven P. M. he took a little food which his stomach did not retain, fell asleep, and slept the whole evening.

#### 24th.

The Emperor had passed a good night, and was still asleep at seven o'clock. He woke in a state of extreme weakness. Heat of the body nearly at the natural temperature—pulse still a little feverish, varying from seventy-eight to eighty-two pulsations per minute. At half-past

seven he took a vermicelli soup, and fell asleep again. The fever was almost gone, but the prostration of strength was excessive, and the patient complained of that state of weakness and of the vertigoes it produced. At eleven o'clock he took a little claret, with three biscuits, and found himself better. At one the biscuits were rejected.

The Emperor again forbade all approach to his apartment, and remained closetted with General Montholon and Marchand until six o'clock. I then went into the room. "I have written too much, Doctor; I am tired—completely exhausted." He was then seized with an exacerbation of fever, accompanied by giddiness, vertigoes, buzzing noise in the ears, pain and intolerable heat in all the viscera of the abdomen, difficult breathing, excessive loquaciousness.

Napoleon spoke of the different kinds of worship, of religious dissensions, and of the plan he had formed in order to reconcile all sects. Our reverses occurred too soon to allow him to carry that plan into execution; but he

had at least re-established religion, and that was a service the results of which were incalculable; for, after all, if men had no religion, they would murder each other for the best pear or the finest girl.

At eight o'clock he took a little rice and an egg, and at two some currant-jam, with a few Bengal biscuits. Between ten and eleven P. M. all the food he had taken in the course of the day was rejected, and the patient remained in a state of extreme agitation which prevented him from sleeping a single instant.

25th.

The Emperor had not slept the whole night, and was incessantly talking; sometimes deliriously. The fever continued with the same degree of intensity.

At about four A. M. vomiting of a black colour of thick pituitous and filaceous matters, mixed with undigested alimentary substances, and black clotted blood in a state of putridity. At daybreak he slept for a few moments.

At about eight A. M. vomiting of the same description as the preceding; but the substances were blacker, and contained particles of clotted venous blood, which seemed to indicate some organic injury of the stomach, and from them oozed an acrid kind of watery liquid, of a fetid and nauseous odour. The fever frequently passed from one extreme to the other. The feet remained of an icy coldness, notwithstanding the care with which they were warmed; and the patient experienced returns of vomiting of the same matters as before described. The alimentary substances became darker, and the liquid parts thicker. The alvine evacuations also contained a considerable quantity of black bile.

At about six P. M. the patient took three spoonfuls of the saline and bitter mixture, and two hours afterwards a soup. He was better; and having some medicines to prepare, I took advantage of that moment and went into the laboratory. As soon as the Emperor was alone, I know not what cruel fancy crossed his mind, but he ordered fruits and wine to be brought to him: he took a biscuit, drank

some champagne, asked for a plum, seized a bunch of grapes, and began to laugh heartily as soon as he perceived me. I took every thing away, and scolded the servant; but the harm was done: the fever returned, and became most violent.

26th.

The Emperor passed a night of extreme agitation, spoke a great deal, and was in a delirium, which lasted until midnight. At two A. M. the whole of the food he had taken in the evening was rejected. At daybreak he found himself a little better, and fell asleep. He was awakened at eight by a fit of vomiting, which afforded him relief. The pulse varied from seventy-eight to eighty-six pulsations per minute, and the heat of the body was below the natural temperature.

The Grand Marshal sent for me: when I went to him, he announced to me that the Emperor had desired him to say he had not included me in his will, but that his intention was to leave me *two hundred thousand francs*.

Napoleon was now on his death-bed, and expressed the greatest kindness towards me

“What do you think I should give to the  
“English physician, for the visits he has paid  
“me in conjunction with yourself?” — “I  
could not presume to assign limits to the  
munificence of your Majesty.” — “Do you  
“think five hundred Louis enough?” — “Yes,  
Sire; I believe it is.” — “Well! I leave him  
“twelve thousand francs, and to you I leave  
“a hundred thousand . . . .” I requested him  
not to trouble himself about such melancholy  
arrangements, and he resumed: “Would you  
“be glad to be in the service of Maria Louisa—  
“to be attached to her as her surgeon, as you  
“now are attached to me?” — “If I were to  
lose your Majesty, that would be the object of  
all my ambition.” — “She is my wife, and the  
“greatest princess of Europe, and the only  
“one you can henceforth serve.” — “I will  
never serve any other.” — “Very well, I shall  
“write to the Empress: I hope you will be  
“satisfied with what I shall do for you.”

The fever lasted the whole day, with continued alternations of improvement and relapses. The patient experienced a parching thirst, icy

coldness in the feet, vague pains in the abdomen, nausea, and vomiting of the same nature as already described. Towards evening he took a little food; and although very weak, wrote for nearly three hours. He settled and sealed the codicils to his will, and went to bed again.

27th.

The Emperor had passed a night of considerable agitation, and had been unable to repose a single instant until daybreak, when he slept a little.

At eight A. M. vomiting of a considerable quantity of glairous matters, mixed with a black watery fluid of a very acrid and pungent smell. Pulse extremely weak, but continuing, however, to give between seventy-two and eighty-four pulsations per minute. Heat of the body nearly of the natural temperature. The patient was free from pain, and refused every kind of medicine, even the use of an enema. I proposed the application of a blister on the epigastric region, which he opposed; and only reluctantly consented, at last, to the application of a stimulant aromatic plaster of the Dublin Phar-

macopœia. In an hour afterwards the patient took a little soup: the fever continued during the remainder of the day; his strength was declining more and more; the vomiting became of more frequent occurrence, and only consisted of thick pituitous matters, mixed with a kind of corrupted substance, having, as it were, the consistency of paste, and with a black, acrid, and watery substance, in which there floated some particles resembling chocolate dissolved in water.

At about three P. M. he endeavoured to write; but his strength was gone, and he could only trace a few lines of the eighth codicil to his will, proposing to finish it the next day. Complete and general atony: death had already seized him; he was fast hastening to his grave.

Between five and six o'clock he took a little food, which rested on his stomach.

At seven P. M. Napoleon at last made up his mind to leave the small, inconvenient, and ill-ventilated room which he then occupied, to go and settle in the drawing-room. We were



preparing to carry him : “ No,” said he, “ you  
“ may do that when I am dead ; for the present  
“ it will be sufficient that you support me.”

28th.

The Emperor had passed a very bad night, and had several vomitings of the nature already described. Pulse extremely weak, varying from eighty-four to ninety pulsations per minute. Heat of the body much below the natural temperature.

Six A. M.—Vomiting similar to the preceding. The fever increased ; the icy coldness became universal ; strength in the last stage of prostration. In about an hour afterwards the patient took a soup, an egg, and a biscuit dipped in a little red wine.

Eight A. M.—The Emperor spoke to me with the greatest kindness, and with the most perfect calmness and composure gave me the following instructions : — “ After my death,  
“ which cannot be far distant, I desire that you  
“ will open my body. I desire also, and insist,  
“ that you will promise that no English medical men shall touch me. If, however, the as-

“ sistance of one should be indispensably neces-  
“ sary, Doctor Arnott is the only one whom  
“ you have permission to employ. I further  
“ desire, that you will take my heart, put it in  
“ spirits of wine, and carry it to Parma to my  
“ dear Maria Louisa. You will tell her that I  
“ tenderly loved her—that I never ceased to love  
“ her ; and you will relate to her all you have  
“ seen, and every particular respecting my si-  
“ tuation and my death. I particularly recom-  
“ mend to you carefully to examine my sto-  
“ mach, and to make a precise and detailed report  
“ of the state in which you may find it, which  
“ report you will give to my son . . . . The vo-  
“ mitings which succeed each other, almost  
“ without interruption, lead me to suppose that  
“ the stomach is, of all my organs, the most  
“ diseased ; and I am inclined to believe that it  
“ is attacked with the same disorder which  
“ killed my father ; I mean a scirrhus in the  
“ pylorus . . . . What is your opinion ?” I he-  
sitated to reply, and he continued : “ I began to  
“ suspect that such was the case as soon as I  
“ saw the frequency and obstinate recurrence of  
“ the vomitings. It is, however, worthy of re-  
“ mark, that my stomach has always been re-  
“ markably strong ; that it is only lately that

“ I have suffered from it ; and that, whilst my  
“ father was very fond of highly-flavoured food  
“ and spirituous liquors, I have never been able  
“ to take any thing of the kind : be that as it  
“ may, I beg you will be very particular in your  
“ examination, in order that when you see my  
“ son you may be able to communicate your  
“ observations to him, and point out to him the  
“ most proper medicines to use . . . . When I  
“ am no more, you will go to Rome ; you will  
“ see my mother and my family, and will relate  
“ to them all you may have observed concerning  
“ my situation, my disorder, and my death  
“ upon this dreary and miserable rock. You  
“ will tell them that the great Napoleon ex-  
“ pired in the most deplorable state, deprived  
“ of every thing, abandoned to himself and to  
“ his glory, and that he bequeathed with his  
“ dying breath, to all the reigning families of  
“ Europe, the horror and opprobrium of his last  
“ moments.”

At ten o'clock in the morning the fever ceased suddenly, and the patient sunk into a state of complete exhaustion. He continued to talk a great deal ; but the sentences he ut-

tered were broken and incoherent. At noon he took some food, which did not at first appear to incommode his stomach ; but a few hours afterwards all the alimentary substances were rejected, mixed with thick, black, glairous matter, containing some particles of coagulated putrid blood. He was, however, better.

Between five and six P. M. the patient was very much agitated, and made several attempts to finish the eighth codicil to his will ; but he could not write, nor even sit upright.

29th.

The Emperor passed a very bad night ; he scarcely took any food, and could not sleep a single instant. He was perpetually talking, raved greatly, and in his delirium distributed a thousand things without choice or discrimination : the intensity of the fever had, however, diminished. Towards morning he was seized with a violent singultus, and he brought up all the food he had taken, mixed with a considerable quantity of glairous matters, and a black and acrid fluid. The fever increased, and the delirium returned ; during which Na-

poleon spoke of stomachs, scirrhus, and pylorus, calling upon Baxter to appear and judge of the truth of his bulletins. Then, suddenly bringing forward O'Meara, he established between him and Baxter a dialogue, the tenor of which was overwhelming for English policy. The fever again diminished, the hearing became distinct, and the patient was calm: he again spoke of the scirrhus of his father, and related, that after the body had been opened, the physicians of Montpellier prognosticated that the disorder would be hereditary, and pass to every member of the family.—  
“ Doctor, I recommend to you once more to  
“ examine my pylorus with the greatest care:  
“ write down your observations and deliver  
“ them to my son; I wish at least to preserve  
“ him from that disease.”

Seven A. M.—The patient fell asleep, and reposed quietly until eleven o'clock. At twelve he took a spoonful of vermicelli soup, an egg, and a little red wine.—Pulse varying from ninety-seven to ninety-eight pulsations per minute. Heat of the body considerably above the natural temperature.

One P. M.—The plaster I had applied to the epigastric region having produced but little effect, I requested the Emperor to allow me to substitute a blister.—“Since you wish it,” said he, “be it so: not that I expect the least effect from it; but my end is approaching, and I am desirous of showing, by my resignation, my gratitude for your care and attentions: apply therefore the blister.” This I did, but unfortunately nature was exhausted; the blister remained twenty-one hours without acting.

Napoleon was free from vomiting, and drank a great deal of cold water. “If fate had decreed that I should recover, I would erect a monument on the spot where the water flows, and would crown the fountain in testimony of the relief it has afforded me. If I die, and my body, proscribed as my person has been, should be denied a little earth, I desire that my remains may be deposited in the cathedral of Ajaccio in Corsica; and if it should not be permitted to me to rest where I was born, let me be buried near the limpid stream

“ of this pure water.” I proposed to him the following prescription :

**R** Aquæ Menthæ viridis, ℥ j.  
Potassæ Subcarbonatis, ʒ j.  
Succi Lim. recentis, q. s. ad saturand.  
Tincturæ Calumbæ, minim. xxx.  
Idem Opii, minim. v.

Misce, ut fiat haustus sextâ-quâque horâ sumendus.

But he would not take it. I vainly endeavoured to triumph over his repugnance : he refused even food, and reposed the remainder of the day.

At nine P. M. I applied two blisters on the thighs.

30th.

The Emperor slept a little during the night. He had twice a return of vomiting of the nature already described ; and the fever went on increasing until daybreak, when it lost part of its intensity.

Nine A. M. — The patient was almost free from fever, and tolerably quiet.—Pulse weak and depressed, varying from eighty-four to ninety-one pulsations per minute—heat of the

body below the natural temperature — skin damp and clammy—breathing easy. The blisters applied to the thighs had not produced any effect ; and that on the epigastric region did not cause any pain to the patient, who was not conscious that he had it. In the course of the morning the vomiting recurred several times. Napoleon was gloomy and low-spirited, but in full possession of all his presence of mind. At noon he took a few spoonfuls of vermicelli and an egg. He experienced a burning heat in the throat, and an attack of hiccough, which lasted two hours.

At one P. M. enema without effect. I vainly endeavoured to induce the Emperor to take some internal medicine : he obstinately refused. Somnolency.—The hiccough still continued.

At three the fever increased, and it was only towards evening that it began to lose a little of its intensity. The patient refused to take any food.

Between nine and ten the fever again increased. General agitation—anxiety—hiccough—



--breathing deep and difficult--oppression of the abdomen--spasmodic rising of the epigastric region and the stomach, accompanied by a sensation of suffocation--abundant salivation--icy coldness all over the body. The pulse became imperceptible from time to time; but rallied again a little towards half-past eleven at night.

1st May.

Pulse low and frequent, giving as many as a hundred pulsations per minute. Heat below the natural temperature--skin damp and clammy--vomiting of glairous matters, mixed with the dark and acrid fluid already mentioned. The Emperor fell asleep towards daybreak, but was soon awakened again by vomiting, and was in a dreadful state. By degrees, however, these unfavourable symptoms decreased, the oppression diminished, and the morning passed quietly. The pulse assumed a greater degree of energy, and gave from seventy-five to eighty pulsations per minute; still preserving, however, its irregularity. Heat of the body above the natural temperature--skin still damp and clammy. Suddenly the pulse relapsed into its former state, and gave one hundred pulsations, but so

weak that they were scarcely perceptible. At noon the hiccough was more violent than it had yet been. General anxiety—dyspnoea\*—spasmodic rising of the stomach and epigastric region — abdominal oppression. The patient was delirious, and spoke incoherently. The symptoms increased in intensity until towards the middle of the night. The Emperor had taken, during the whole day, only two biscuits and a little red wine.

## 2d.

Napoleon was quieter, and the alarming symptoms diminished a little. At two A. M. paroxysm of fever, accompanied by delirium. Napoleon spoke incessantly of France, of his son, of his companions in arms: “Steingel, Des-  
“saix, Massena! Ah! victory is declaring: run,  
“hasten, press the charge; they are ours!” I was listening, and following the progress of that painful agony in the deepest distress and affliction, when Napoleon, suddenly collecting his strength, jumped on the floor, and would absolutely go down into the garden to take a walk. I ran to receive him in my arms, but his legs

\* Difficulty of breathing.

bent under the weight of his body—he fell backward, and I had the mortification of being unable to prevent his falling. We raised him up, and entreated him to get into bed again; but he did not recognize any body, and began to storm, and fell into a violent passion. His head was gone, and he continued to ask to go and walk in the garden. His strength was at last exhausted, and his pulse in the last stage of weakness, giving as many as one hundred and eight pulsations per minute. Heat of the body much above the natural temperature—general agitation—frequent nausea—anxiety.

At nine A. M. the fever decreased, and the Emperor gave me some instructions, to which he added these words: “Recollect what I have  
“directed you to do after my death. Proceed  
“very carefully to the anatomical examination  
“of my body, and particularly of the stomach.  
“The physicians of Montpellier had announced  
“that the scirrhus in the pylorus would be  
“hereditary in my family: their report is, I  
“believe, in the hands of Louis; ask for it, and  
“compare it with your own observations, in  
“order that I may save my son from that cruel

“disease. You will see him, Doctor; and you  
“will point out to him what is best to be done,  
“and will save him from the cruel sufferings I  
“now experience: this is the last service I ask  
“of you.” I was anxious to render this service; and I had at one time the hope of being able to do so. The practitioner with whom the report was deposited had offered to shew it to me; but it turned out the next day that he had been mistaken the day before; that he no longer had that report in his possession, but that he had mislaid it. I was therefore unable to make the comparison which Napoleon wished.

At noon an exacerbation again occurred. The patient recovered the use of his faculties, looked at me for a few moments, heaved a deep sigh, and said, “Doctor, I am very ill; I feel  
“that I am going to die:” and he again became insensible. Sleep interrupted—frequent hiccough of an alarming nature—breathing irregular and difficult—oppression of the abdomen—spasmodic rising of the epigastric region and stomach—glairous vomiting—convulsive smile slightly defined—spasmodic and forward motion of the two lips. I administered an

anodyne draught, composed of a little orange-flower water, and a few drops of tincture of opium and ether. It had the effect of calming the patient for a few minutes: he came to himself again, and thought himself able to complete his last dispositions; but none of his limbs any longer obeyed the impulse of his will: his weakness was too great—he could not succeed in the attempt. Towards one o'clock he took two biscuits in some red wine diluted with water.

His end was now approaching; we were going to lose him, and every body redoubled his zeal and attention, anxious to give him a last mark of devotedness. His officers, Marchand, Saint-Denis, and myself, had exclusively taken upon ourselves the duty of sitting up at night; but Napoleon could not bear the light, and we were obliged to lift him up, and to administer all the cares his state required, in the midst of a profound obscurity. Anxiety had added to our fatigue: the Grand Marshal was exhausted; General Montholon was equally so,—and I was not much better; we therefore yielded to the pressing solicitations of the Frenchmen who inhabited Longwood, and gave

them a share in the melancholy duties we had to perform. Pieron, Coursot—every one, in short, sat up conjointly with some one of us. The zeal and solicitude they manifested sensibly affected the Emperor, who recommended them to his officers, enjoining that they might be assisted and taken care of. “And my poor “Chinese,” said he, “do not let them be forgotten neither; let them have a few scores of “Napoleons: I must take leave of them also.”

### 3rd.

The patient had passed a better night than usual. The alarming symptoms of the preceding day had diminished, and he reposed a few moments. Towards morning the fever increased. General agitation—anxiety—delirium.

At seven A. M. the fever lost a little of its intensity. Great prostration of strength—deep sighs—anxiety. At about nine, the Emperor took, with pleasure, two biscuits, a little wine, and the yolk of an egg; but the prostration of strength still continued to increase. Somnolency—hiccough—frequent nausea—vomiting of the same nature as the preceding. I adminis-

tered a few spoonfuls of the usual anodyne draught.

Hudson, suddenly taken by a fit of humanity, imagined that cow's milk might assuage Napoleon's cruel agony, and offered some. Doctor Arnott, admiring the inspiration of his chief, wished to try the effect it would produce ; but I opposed this trial with all my might, upon the ground that milk is naturally heavy and indigestible ; that the Emperor's stomach constantly rejected the mildest, slightest, and most digestible substances ; that even when in good health he had never been able to bear any kind of milk ; that he had, each time he had taken any, experienced a derangement more or less serious in the digestive organs, and that the *soupe. à la reine* \* had always acted upon him as a purgative. Doctor Arnott was not at first convinced by these arguments, which I strenuously maintained, and we had a very warm discussion on the subject : ultimately, however, I succeeded in preventing milk from being given to the dying Emperor.

\* A beverage composed of milk, eggs, and sugar.

At noon, aggravation of the symptoms, which became more and more alarming. The fever and the icy coldness of the lower extremities increased, and the patient was a prey to general anxiety.—Fatiguing hiccough—difficulty of breathing—violent oppression of the stomach—the colour of the skin changed—the pulse scarcely perceptible, and at times intermittent, giving as many as a hundred and ten pulsations per minute—the heat of the body very much below the natural temperature. Napoleon drank copiously of orange-flower water, mixed with common water and sugar. He found relief from that beverage, and preferred it to every other.

At two P. M. the fever diminished. We withdrew ; Vignali alone remained, and having joined us again a few moments afterwards, in the next room, he informed us that he had administered the viaticum to the Emperor.

Three P. M.—The fever returned with increased violence. General anxiety—oppression and spasms in the epigastric region and the sto-



**mach—violent and almost incessant hiccough—  
face hippocratic.\***

**Napoleon still preserved his presence of mind, and recommended to his executors, in case he should lose it, not to allow any other English physicians to approach him than Doctor Arnott. “ I am going to die,” said he ; “ and you to return to Europe : I must give you some advice as to the line of conduct you are to pursue. “ You have shared my exile ; you will be faithful to my memory, and will not do any thing that may injure it. I have sanctioned all principles, and infused them into my laws and acts : “ I have not omitted a single one. Unfortunately, however, the circumstances in which “ I was placed were arduous, and I was obliged to act with severity and to postpone the execution of my plans. Our reverses occurred : “ I could not unbend the bow ; and France has “ been deprived of the liberal institutions I “ intended to give her. She judges me with “ indulgence : she feels grateful for my intentions : she cherishes my name and my victories. Imitate her example ; be faithful to**

**\* A convulsive derangement, and peculiar expression assumed by the features at the approach of death.**

“ the opinions we have defended, and to the  
“ glory we have acquired; any other course  
“ can only lead to shame and confusion.”

An order from the Governor directed us to hold a consultation with Doctors Shortt and Mitchell. They came to my apartment, and I explained to them the symptoms of the disorder; but they were not satisfied with this explanation, and wished to ascertain by their own observation, the state in which Napoleon was. I, however, assured them that every attempt of that kind would be useless. They then coincided in opinion with Doctor Arnott, who proposed a purgative medicine composed of ten grains of calomel. I exclaimed against such a prescription ; knowing that the patient was too weak, and that it would be fatiguing him to no purpose : but I was alone against three ; the measure was carried by numbers, and the ten grains of calomel were accordingly administered at six P. M.

At seven the Emperor took a few spoonfuls of *sabaillon*,\* but he could not swallow them

\* White wine and sugar.

without water. State of calmness frequently interrupted. The hiccough began again with violence.

Ten P. M.—The ten grains of calomel not having produced any effect, a deliberation took place as to whether another dose should be administered; but this time I broke through all ceremony, and peremptorily opposed their determination.

Between eleven and twelve P. M. abundant evacuation of matters, having the consistency and colour of pitch.—Complete collapse — anxiety—violent dyspnœa—cold perspiration—coldness of the lower extremities—borborygmi.—The patient drank frequently of orange-flower water, with common water and sugar.

#### 4th.

The same symptoms continued the whole night. The Emperor only took a small quantity of orange-flower water, and at distant intervals. The weather was horrible; the rain fell without interruption, and the wind threatened to

destroy every thing. The willow\* under which Napoleon usually sat to enjoy the fresh air had yielded to the tempest; our plantations were torn up by the roots, and lay scattered about: a single gum-tree still resisted, when a whirlwind seized it, tore it up, and laid it prostrate in the mud. It seemed as if none of the things the Emperor had valued were to survive him.

Between seven and eight, five successive abundant evacuations occurred of the same nature as the last observed upon. The patient was in a state of complete exhaustion, which increased every moment.—Violent and incessant hiccough. The patient refused to take any internal medicine, and it was even scarcely possible to induce him to take a little cold broth of the consistence of jelly. A little later he drank a large quantity of orange-flower water, mixed with common water and sugar, and complained of violent colic. Incessant hiccough—convulsive smile—eyes fixed—pupils raised so as to expose the inferior part of the ocular globe—

\* This species is known at St. Helena under the name of *Botany Bay*.

upper eyelids depressed — face hippocratic—  
oppression — spasms in the epigastric region  
and the stomach.

The alvine evacuations again occurred three times, but the patient was not conscious of them; he seemed totally deprived of all sensation. Towards evening the intensity of the fever increased.—Abundant salivation — continual expuition of black and viscous matters.

5th.

The patient passed a night of extreme agitation.—General anxiety—breathing difficult, sometimes accompanied by a snoring noise—frequent hiccough — continual spasms in the epigastric region and the stomach—eructations giving issue to dark, acrid, nauseous liquid matters—constant expuition and vomiting of the same matters.

The clock struck half-past five, and Napoleon was still delirious, speaking with difficulty, and uttering words broken and inarticulate; amongst others, we heard the words, “Head . . .  
“ army,” and these were the last he pronounced;

for they had no sooner passed his lips than he lost the power of speech.—Violent pains in the abdomen—last stage of dyspnoea—body cold and convulsed, covered with clammy perspiration—trismus.\*—The pulsations were scarcely felt in the carotid and axillary arteries. I thought the vital spark had fled, but by degrees the pulse rallied, the oppression decreased, deep sighs escaped from his breast. Napoleon was still alive.

And now occurred the most affecting, perhaps, of all the scenes that had taken place during the Emperor's long agony.—Madame Bertrand, who would not quit the bedside of the august patient, notwithstanding her own sufferings, sent first for her daughter Hortense, and afterwards for her three sons, to shew them their benefactor for the last time. No words can express the emotion of these poor children on witnessing this spectacle of death. They had not seen Napoleon for about fifty days, and their eyes full of tears sought, with terror, upon his face, now pale and disfigured, the expression of greatness and goodness which they were accustomed

\* Convulsive closing of the jaw.

to find in it. As if by common accord, they rushed towards the bed, seized the hands of the Emperor, kissed them, and, sobbing aloud, covered them with tears. Young Napoleon Bertrand could no longer bear this heart-rending scene; overcome by his emotion, he fell back and fainted. We were obliged to tear these youthful mourners in the midst of their grief from the Emperor's bedside, and to take them into the garden. No doubt the recollection of this scene is for ever engraven on their hearts, and their tears will flow more than once, when they recollect that they have contemplated the body of Napoleon at the moment when his great soul was on the point of leaving it: the impression also produced upon us all, on witnessing the moving adieu of these children to their august protector, is beyond the power of words to express: we all mixed our lamentations with theirs; we all felt the same anguish, the same cruel foreboding of the approach of the fatal instant, which every minute accelerated.

Ten A. M.—Pulse annihilated. I was following with anxiety its beatings, endeavouring to ascertain whether the vital principle was ex-

tinct, when I saw Noverraz enter the room, pale, his hair in disorder, and in the utmost agitation. The poor fellow, weakened by forty-eight days' sufferings of an acute hepatitis, accompanied by synocha,\* was scarcely beginning to be convalescent; but having heard of the dangerous state in which the Emperor was, he had caused himself to be brought down, and entered the apartment bathed in tears, to see once more a master whom he had served so many years. I endeavoured to prevail upon him to withdraw, but his emotion increased as I spoke to him: he fancied that the Emperor was threatened, and was calling him to his assistance, and he would not leave him, but would fight and die for him. He was quite light-headed: I flattered his zeal, succeeded in calming him, and returned to the patient.

Eleven A. M.—Borborygmi—swelling and tension of the abdomen—icy coldness of the lower extremities, and, in a short time, of the whole body—eye fixed—lips closed and contracted—violent agitation of the nostrils—most

\* Inflammatory fever.



complete adynamia\*—pulse extremely weak and intermittent, varying from one hundred and two to one hundred and eight, one hundred and ten, and one hundred and twelve pulsations per minute—breathing slow, intermittent, and stertorous—spasmodic contraction of the epigastric region and of the stomach—deep sighs—piteous moans—convulsive movements, which ended by a loud and dismal shriek. I placed a blister on the chest, and one on each thigh; applied two large sinapisms on the soles of the feet, and fomentations on the abdomen, with a bottle filled with hot water: I also endeavoured to refresh the Emperor's lips and mouth by constantly moistening them with a mixture of common water, orange-flower water, and sugar; but the passage was spasmodically closed; nothing was swallowed: all was in vain. The intermittent breathing and mournful sound still continued, accompanied by a violent agitation of the abdominal muscles: the eyelids remained fixed, the eyes moved and fell back under the upper lids; the pulse sunk and rallied again.—It was eleven minutes before

\* Weakness.

six o'clock—Napoleon was about to breathe his last!—a slight froth covered his lips—he was no more!—Such is the end of all human glory!

All immediately dispersed, and nothing was heard but tears and lamentations; the cruel loss we had sustained had plunged every one in the deepest affliction. Before we could recover from the kind of stupor produced by the first shock of our grief, two Englishmen, taking advantage of the opportunity, slipped in amongst us, entered the drawing-room, uncovered and touched the body of the Emperor, and withdrew as they had come. This act of profanation restored us to our senses; we returned into the room where the corpse lay, in order to watch over it: it was not to be polluted by English hands.

After the Emperor had been dead six hours, I caused him to be shaved, and had the body washed and placed on another bed. The executors, on their side, had taken cognizance of two codicils, which were to be opened immediately after the Emperor's decease. One of these codicils was relative to the gratifications

which he granted upon his privy purse to all the persons composing his household, and to the alms which he ordered to be distributed to the poor of St. Helena ; the other contained instructions as to his funeral, and was thus worded :—

“ 16th April, 1821.—Longwood.

*“ This is a Codicil to my Will.*

“ 1. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I loved so well.

“ 2. I leave to Counts Bertrand and Montholon, and to Marchand, the money, jewels, plate, china, furniture, books, arms, and generally every thing belonging to me in the Island of St. Helena.

“ This Codicil, entirely written with my own hand, is signed by me and sealed with my  
“ arms.

(L. S.)

“ NAPOLEON.”

The executors communicated the contents of

this document to the Governor, who exclaimed against the pretension expressed in it, declaring that a compliance with it was inadmissible; and that he entirely opposed it. The body was to remain in the island : England was anxious to keep it, and would not let it go. We endeavoured to appeal from this decree, dictated by hatred : representations, entreaties, were all tried without effect ; “ the body of Napoleon was to remain at St. Helena, and there it should remain.” The executors invoked humanity, and the respect due to the dead, but right vanishes before might, and all that could be done was to adopt the resource of the weak—to protest and obey. This course was pursued, and a spot which the Emperor, although he had only seen it once, continually spoke of with satisfaction, was chosen to receive his remains. It was near the spring whose waters had so often allayed his cruel sufferings. Hudson assented to this choice. He had held since the year 1820 the order to retain the body of *Bonaparte*, but it was indifferent *to him* in what part of the island it was buried. This point settled, he immediately mounted his horse and

proceeded to Longwood, at the head of his staff, the members of his council, General Coffin, Rear Admiral Lambert, the Marquis de Montchenu, and all the physicians and surgeons of the island. He wished to be assured by his own inspection that the Emperor was really dead—that the corpse before him was really that of Napoleon. He also wished that the body might be immediately opened; but I observed to him that it was too soon after death, and he did not insist.—“ You have asked me for some plaster to mould the face of the deceased,” said he, “ one of my surgeons is very skilful in that kind of operation, he will assist you.”—I thanked his Excellency; but the operation was so easy that I wanted no assistance. What I really wanted was plaster; for Madame Bertrand, notwithstanding her repeated requests, had only yet received a kind of lime, and I was at a loss what to do, when Dr. Burton pointed out a spot on the coast where gypsum was to be found. The Admiral immediately gave orders for a boat to put out to sea, and in a few hours afterwards some fragments were brought and calcined. Having obtained

some plaster I moulded the face, and proceeded to the autopsy\* of the corpse.

The executors, Generals Bertrand and Montholon, and Marchand, were present at this affecting operation ; which was also witnessed by Sir Thomas Reade, a few staff-officers, and Drs. Thomas Shortt, Arnott, Charles Mitchell, Matthew Livingstone, surgeon in the service of the East India Company, and some other medical men, together eight in number, whom I had invited.

Napoleon had destined his hair to be distributed amongst the different members of his family ; and whilst his head was being shaved, I verified some observations I had already made, and the principal of which were as follow :—

1. The Emperor had grown considerably thinner since my arrival at St. Helena : his

\* Ocular demonstration ; applied by extension by Galen to the examination and description of the different parts of a body on dissection.

bulk was not a fourth part of what it had been.

2. The face and body were pale, but free from alteration or a cadaverous aspect. The expression of the features was fine; the eyes were closed; and it might have been thought, not that the Emperor was dead, but that he was reposing in profound sleep. His mouth preserved a smiling expression, with the exception of a slight contraction of the left side, caused by the convulsive smile observed in his last moments.

3. The body exhibited the wound occasioned by an issue in the left arm, and several scars; viz.—one on the head; three on the left leg, one of which was on the *malleolus externus*\*; one at the extremity of the *digitus annularis*† of the left hand, and several in the left thigh.

4. The entire height of the body from the top of the head to the heels was five feet two inches and four lines‡.

\* Part of the ankle.      † The ring or fourth finger.

‡ French measure; equal to five feet six inches and

5. The extent from the extremity of the middle finger of one hand to that of the other was five feet two inches.

6. From the *symphysis* of the *os pubis* to the top of the head, the length was two feet seven inches and four lines.

7. From the *os pubis* to the *calcaneum*\*, the length was two feet seven inches.

8. The length from the top of the head to the chin was seven inches and six lines.

9. The circumference of the head was twenty inches and ten lines. The forehead was high, the temples slightly depressed, the *sinciput*† wide and very strongly defined.

10. Hair thin, and of a light chestnut colour.

twentytwo-fortyfifths of an inch, the French foot being greater than the English in the proportion of sixteen to fifteen.

\* Heel.

† The fore-part of the skull.



11. Neck rather short, but tolerably well proportioned.

12. Chest wide and well formed.

13. Abdomen considerably swelled and voluminous.

14. Hands and feet rather small.

15. Limbs stiff and extended.

16. All the other parts of the body were nearly in the ordinary proportions.

I felt a curiosity to examine the head of this great man, according to the craniological system of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim: the following are the signs which were most apparent on it:—

1. Organ of dissimulation.
2. Organ of conquests.
3. Organ of kindness and benevolence.
4. Organ of imagination.

**5. Organ of ambition and love of glory.**

**Of the class of intellectual faculties, I found :**

- 1. The organ of individuality, or knowledge of individuals and things.**
- 2. The organ of locality—of the relation of space.**
- 3. The organ of calculation.**
- 4. The organ of comparison.**
- 5. The organ of causality—of the faculty of induction—of a philosophical head.**

**The corpse had now been lying more than twenty hours ; and I therefore proceeded to the autopsy.**

**I first opened the chest, and the most remarkable appearances it exhibited were the following :—**

**The cartilages of the ribs were for the most part ossified.**

The sac formed by the costal *pleura*\* of the left side contained about a glass of fluid of a citrine colour.

A slight coat of coagulable lymph covered part of the surfaces of the costal and pulmonary *pleuræ* corresponding to the same side.

The left lung was slightly compressed by the effusion, and adhered by numerous bridges to the posterior and lateral parts of the chest, and to the *pericardium*†. I carefully dissected it, and found the superior lobe covered with *tuberculæ*‡ and some small tuberculous excavations.

A slight coat of coagulable lymph covered part of the surfaces of the costal and pulmonary *pleuræ* corresponding to that side.

The sac of the costal *pleura* on the right side contained about two glasses of fluid of a citrine colour.

\* A membrane which lines the internal surface of the thorax or chest, and covers its viscera.

† A membranous bag that surrounds the heart.

‡ Small tumours.

The right lung was slightly compressed by effusion, but its *parenchyma*\* was in a healthy state. Both lungs were, generally speaking, firm (*crepitans*), and of their natural colour. The mucous membrane of the *trachea-arteria*† and of the *bronchiæ*‡ was tolerably red, and lined with a rather considerable quantity of pituitous matter, thick and viscous.

Many of the ganglions§ of the *bronchiæ*, and of the *mediastinum*||, were rather enlarged, almost degenerated, and in a state of suppuration.

The *pericardium* was in a healthy state, and contained about an ounce of fluid of a citrine colour. The heart, which was rather larger than the fist of the subject, exhibited, though sound, a rather abundant proportion of fat at

\* Texture, or connecting medium of the substance of the lungs.

† Wind-pipe.

‡ Ramifications of the wind-pipe through the lungs.

§ Knot, or protuberance.

|| A membrane occupying the middle of the *thorax*, or chest, and dividing its cavity into two parts.

its base and on its ridges. The *aorta*\* and pulmonary ventricles†, and the corresponding auricles‡, were in a state of proper conformation, but pale, and contained no blood. The orifices did not exhibit the appearance of any material injury. The large arterial and venous vessels about the heart were likewise empty, although generally in a state of proper conformation.

The abdomen exhibited the following appearances :—

Distension of the *peritonæum*‡, produced by a great quantity of gas.

A soft, transparent, and diffuent exudation lining the whole extent of the internal surface of the *peritonæum*.

The *epiploon*§ was in a state of proper conformation.

\* *Aorta*, one of the great arteries of the heart.

† Cavities in or about the heart.

‡ Membrane enclosing the bowels.

§ A thin membrane floating over part of the intestines.

The spleen, and the liver, which was hardened, were very large and distended with blood. The texture of the liver, which was of a brownish red colour, did not, however, exhibit any remarkable alteration of structure. The *vesica fellis*\* was filled and distended with very thick and clotted bile. The liver, which was affected by chronic hepatitis, closely adhered by its convex surface to the *diaphragm*†; the adhesion occupied the whole extent of that organ, and was strong, cellular, and of long existence.

The concave surface of the left lobe adhered closely and strongly to the corresponding part of the stomach, particularly along the small curve of that organ, and to the *epiploon*. At every point of contact, the lobe was sensibly thickened, swelled, and hardened.

The stomach appeared, at first sight, in a perfectly healthy state; no trace of irritation

\* Gall bladder.

† Or midriff, a muscle that separates the *thorax* from the abdomen.

or *phlogosis*\*, and the *peritonæal* membrane exhibited the most satisfactory appearance: but, on examining that organ with care, I discovered on its anterior surface, near the small curve, and at the breadth of three fingers from the *pylorus*†, a slight obstruction, apparently of a scirrhus nature, of little extent, and exactly circumscribed. The stomach was perforated through and through in the centre of that small induration, the aperture of which was closed by the adhesion of that part to the left lobe of the liver.

The volume of the stomach was smaller than it is usually found.

On opening that organ along its large curve, I observed that part of its capacity was filled with a considerable quantity of matters, slightly consistent, and mixed with a great quantity of glairous substances, very thick and of a colour resembling the sediment of coffee, and which exhaled an acrid and infectious odour.

\* Tumour, with inflammation, heat, and pain.

† The lower orifice of the stomach.

These substances being removed, the mucous membrane of the stomach was ascertained to be sound from the small to the large cavity of this organ, following the great curve. Almost the whole of the remainder of the internal surface of the stomach was occupied by a cancerous ulcer, whose centre was in the upper part, along the small curve of the stomach, whilst the irregular digital and linguiform borders of its circumference extended both before and behind that internal surface, and from the orifice of the *cardia*\* to within a good inch of the *pylorus*. Its rounded opening, obliquely cut in the shape of a basil at the expense of the internal surface of the organ, scarcely occupied a diameter of four or five lines inside, and at most two lines and a half outside. The circular border of that opening was extremely thin, slightly denticulated, blackish, and only formed by the peritonæal membrane of the stomach. An ulcerous, greyish, and smooth surface lined this kind of canal, which, but for the adhesion of the liver, would have established a communication between the cavity of the stomach and that of the

\* The upper orifice of the stomach.



abdomen. The right extremity of the stomach, at the distance of an inch from the *pylorus*, was surrounded by a tumour, or rather a scirrhus annular induration, a few lines in width. The orifice of the *pylorus* was in a perfect state. The lips of the ulcer exhibited remarkable fungous swellings, the bases of which were hard, thick, and in a scirrhus state, and extended also over the whole surface occupied by that cruel disease.

The little *epiploon* was contracted, swollen, very much hardened, and degenerated. The lymphatic glands of that peritonæal membrane, those placed along the curves of the stomach, as well as those near the pillars of the *diaphragm*, were in part tumefied and scirrhus; some even in a state of suppuration.

The digestive canal was distended by the presence of a great quantity of gas. I observed, in the peritonæal surface and in the peritonæal doublings, small specks and patches of a pale red colour, of various dimensions, and scattered at some distance from each other. The mucous membrane of this canal appeared to be in a

sound state. The large intestines were covered with a substance of a blackish colour and extremely viscous.

The right kidney was sound; that on the left side was out of its place, being thrown back upon the lumbar vertebræ: it was longer and narrower than the other; in other respects it appeared sound.

The bladder, which was empty and much contracted, contained a certain quantity of gravel, mixed with some small *calculi*.\* Numerous red spots were scattered upon its mucous membrane, and the coats of the organ were in a diseased state.

I wished to examine the brain: the state of that organ in such a man as the Emperor, was an object of the highest interest; but my proceedings were unfeelingly arrested, and I was obliged to yield.

Having finished this melancholy operation, I detached the heart and stomach, and put them

\* Stones.

in a silver vase filled with spirits of wine. I afterwards connected the separated parts, by a suture, washed the body, and made room for the *valet-de-chambre*, who dressed it as the Emperor was usually dressed during his life. Drawers, white kerseymere breeches, white waistcoat, white cravat, and over that a black one fastened behind with a buckle, the riband of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, the uniform of colonel of the *chasseurs de la garde*,\* decorated with the Orders of the Legion of Honour, and of the Iron Crown ;† long boots, à l'*écuyère*, with small spurs, and lastly a cocked hat. Thus dressed, Napoleon was, at a quarter before six, removed from the drawing-room, into which the crowd immediately entered. The sheet and linen that had been used in the dissection of the body were carried away, torn in pieces, and distributed : they were stained with his blood, and every one wished, therefore, to have a fragment of them.

Napoleon was exposed in his small bed-room, which had been arranged as a *chambre ardente*,

\* Green, with red facings.

† La couronne de fer.

being hung with black cloth taken from the stores of the East India Company at James Town. This latter circumstance communicated the intelligence of Napoleon's illness and death to the inhabitants of the island, who, surprised to see so many articles conveyed away, endeavoured, as well as the *employés* themselves, to ascertain the use to which they were to be appropriated, and for which they saw no cause. Curiosity increased, and became general in proportion as the object of it became known. The strangest ideas, the most extraordinary reports, were beginning to be circulated, when a Chinese revealed the mystery. A universal cry of surprise was then heard; every one was astonished—thunder-struck. “What! General Bonaparte was seriously ill! We were told that he enjoyed such excellent health!”

It had not been possible, for want of the necessary materials, to embalm the body, the whiteness of which was really extraordinary. It was deposited upon one of the small tent-beds, furnished with white curtains as funeral hangings!!! The cloak of blue cloth which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo served

to cover him. The feet and hands were exposed to view ; at his right side was his sword, and on his chest a crucifix. At some distance from the body was the silver vase in which I had been obliged to deposit his heart and stomach. Behind his head was an altar, at which the priest, habited in his surplice and stole, recited prayers. All the persons of his suite, officers and servants, dressed in mourning, were standing on his left. Doctor Arnott watched over the corpse, which had been placed under his personal responsibility.

The door of the *chambre ardente*, and the approach to it, had been for some hours past thronged by an immense crowd. The door was at last opened; and the crowd entered, and gazed upon the lifeless remains, without confusion, without tumult, and in a religious silence. The order of admittance was regulated by Captain Crokat, the orderly officer of Longwood. The officers and subalterns of the 20th and 66th regiments were first admitted, and the remainder afterwards. All felt that emotion which the spectacle of courage and misfortune united

never fails to excite in the hearts of all brave men.

The concourse of spectators was still greater on the following day: the troops and population all flocked to Longwood; and even the fair sex braved fatigue and authority, to contemplate the lifeless remains of the Emperor. An absurd order had forbidden their appearance at Longwood, but they mixed with the crowd, and their sentiments were only expressed with a greater degree of animation. Every body, indeed, seemed anxious to disclaim all participation in Napoleon's cruel death. This was a great consolation to us.

Whilst I was enjoying this consolation, I saw Doctors Shortt, Mitchell, and Burton, coming from the orderly officer's quarters, and advancing towards me. These gentlemen had, as I have already mentioned, been present at the autopsy, *ex officio*, but they had not taken any active part in the operation. It had, however, suddenly occurred to them that it was their duty to frame the report of it: they had con-

sequently written that report, and now brought it to me for my signature, which I refused to give. What had I to do with English and English reports? I was Napoleon's physician; I had performed the operation of the autopsy, and it was for me to state this fact, and the circumstances attending it. I could neither disguise any thing, nor listen to any suggestions; I offered a copy of my own report, but it did not answer the desired purpose, and was therefore rejected.

The coffin which was to receive the Emperor having been brought, I was obliged to place the heart and stomach in it. I had flattered myself that I should be able to convey them to Europe; but all my entreaties on that subject were fruitless: I experienced the grief and mortification of a refusal. I left the first-mentioned of these two organs in the vase in which it had at first been enclosed, and placed the second in another vase of the same metal, and of a cylindrical shape, which had been used to keep Napoleon's sponge. I filled the vase containing the heart with alcohol,

closed it hermetically, soldered it, and deposited it with the other at the angles of the coffin, in which Napoleon was then laid. The body was first placed upon a kind of mattress and pillow, in a tin-box lined with white satin. The Emperor's hat, which could not remain on his head for want of room, was placed on his feet; eagles, some pieces of all the coins bearing his effigy, his fork and spoon, his knife, a plate with his arms, &c. were also put into that box, which was carefully soldered, and placed in another of mahogany. A third, of lead, received these two boxes; and the whole was finally enclosed in a fourth of mahogany, which was closed, and secured with iron screws. The coffin was then covered with the cloak Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo, and exposed on the same spot where the body had lain. Arnott continued to watch, and Vignali to pray; whilst the crowd, which increased every hour, were allowed to circulate round these mournful objects.

Exhausted with fatigue and grief, we were going to withdraw, when Hudson joined us.



Ever humane, compassionate, and sincere, he deplored the loss we had sustained, and informed us that it was the more to be regretted, as his Government was beginning to be more favourably disposed, and *had ordered him to announce to General Bonaparte that the moment approached when his liberty might possibly be restored to him; and that his Britannic Majesty would not be the last to accelerate the term of his captivity. "He is now dead; all is over, and we shall to-morrow pay him the last honours. To-morrow, at daybreak, the troops have orders to be under arms, and in mourning."*

8th.

This was accordingly done, as the Governor had stated; and he soon arrived at Longwood himself, and was shortly afterwards followed by the Admiral and all the civil and military authorities. The weather was beautiful, the roads were crowded with people, and the hills covered with musicians; never had so mournful and solemn a spectacle been before exhibited in the island. At half-past twelve the grenadiers took the coffin, which they could not lift without difficulty, and after repeated

and persevering efforts, succeeded in carrying it to and placing it on the hearse, which was waiting in the great walk in the garden; and it was then covered with a violet-coloured velvet cloth, and the cloak which Napoleon wore at Marengo. The Emperor's household was in mourning; and the funeral procession was arranged, and proceeded in the following order, which had been regulated by the Governor himself:—

Abbé Vignali, habited in the sacerdotal ornaments used for the celebration of mass,  
with young Henry Bertrand, carrying a vase of silver containing  
Holy-water and the  
*Aspersorium.*

Doctor Arnott and myself.

The persons appointed to take care of the hearse, which was drawn by four horses, led by grooms, and escorted by twelve grenadiers on each side, without arms.\*

\* They were to carry the coffin, when the bad state of the roads should prevent the hearse from advancing.

Young Napoleon Bertrand and Marchand, both  
on foot on each side of the hearse.

Counts Bertrand and Montholon on horseback  
immediately behind the hearse.

Part of the Emperor's suite.

Countess Bertrand, with her daughter Hortense,  
in a calash drawn by two horses led by  
servants who walked on the side  
of the precipice.

The Emperor's horse, led by his *piqueur*  
Archambaud.

The officers of the marines on foot  
and on horseback.

The officers of the Staff on horseback.

General Coffin and the Marquis Montchenu  
on horseback.

The Admiral and the Governor on horseback.

The inhabitants of the Island.

The procession left Longwood in this order,  
passed before the guard-house, and the garrison  
of the island, about two thousand five hundred  
strong, which lined the whole of the left side  
of the road as far as Hut's Gate. Bands of  
music, stationed at intervals, added by their  
mournful sounds to the solemn sadness of the

ceremony. After the procession had passed before the troops, they followed, and accompanied it towards the place of burial. The dragoons marched first, the 20th regiment of infantry followed; then came the marines, the 66th regiment, the volunteers of St. Helena; and lastly, the regiment of royal artillery, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Lady Lowe and her daughter were waiting on the road at Hut's Gate, in a calash drawn by two horses, and afterwards followed the procession at a distance, accompanied by some servants in mourning. The fifteen pieces of cannon were stationed along the road, and the men were near their pieces ready to fire.

At about a quarter of a mile beyond Hut's Gate the hearse stopped, and the troops halted and ranged themselves in order of battle along the road. The grenadiers then took the coffin on their shoulders, and carried it thus to the grave, by the new road which had been made for that purpose on the side of the mountain. Every body then dismounted; the ladies got out of the calash, and the procession followed the corpse without observing any order: Counts

Bertrand and Montholon, Marchand, and young Napoleon Bertrand, holding the four corners of the pall. The coffin was deposited on the edge of the grave, which was hung with black, and near to it were the machinery and the ropes with which it was to be lowered : every thing offered a mournful aspect ; every thing contributed to increase the grief and affliction which filled our hearts. Our emotion was great, but deep, concentrated and silent. The coffin having been uncovered Abbé Vignali recited the usual prayers, and the body was consigned to the grave, the feet turned towards the east. The artillery then fired three successive volleys of fifteen guns each. During the march of the funeral procession, the Admiral's ship had fired twenty-five minute-guns. An enormous stone, which was to have been employed in the construction of the Emperor's new house, was now used to close his grave. The religious ceremonies being over, that stone was lifted up by means of a ring fixed in it, and was lowered down over the body, resting on both sides on a strong stone wall, so as not to touch the coffin. It was then fastened ; the ring was taken away, the hole it had left filled up, and the masonry covered with a layer of cement.

Whilst these last arrangements were being made, the crowd rushed eagerly towards the willows, which the presence of Napoleon had already rendered objects of veneration. Every one wished to have branches or leaves from those trees that were to shade the grave of that great man, and to keep them in remembrance of this mournful and imposing scene. Hudson and the Admiral, displeased at this spontaneous manifestation of feeling, endeavoured to check it by anger and threats; but this had no other effect than that of increasing the activity of the assailants, and the willows were entirely stripped as high as the hand could reach. Hudson was pale with rage; but the guilty were numerous, and of all classes of people, and he could not therefore punish. He, however, took his revenge, by prohibiting all approach to the grave, which he surrounded by a barrier, and near which he placed two sentries and a guard of twelve men, with an officer; adding, that such a guard would be perpetually stationed there.

The Emperor's grave is about a league from Longwood. Its shape is quadrangular, but

wider at the top than at the bottom ; its depth is about twelve feet. The coffin is placed upon two strong pieces of wood, and isolated on all sides. We were not allowed to place over it either a stone, or a modest inscription : the Governor opposed this pious wish ; as if a tombstone, or an inscription, could have told the world more than they already knew !

Napoleon was in his grave ; Hudson's task was over : nothing more remained for him to do but to collect his effects. For that purpose, he came to Longwood, caused a statement thereof to be delivered to him, examined every thing, searched every where, and even went so far as to open packets which the Emperor himself had sealed before his death : but all his trouble was in vain, he could not find the secret object of his researches. Resolved, however, not to desist, he became the more tenacious ; ransacked the place over and over again ; closely questioned every body ; and only consented at last to withdraw after his agents had made an inventory of the furniture, packed up the books : and not a corner remained unvisited, or a rag unregistered.

We were anxious to preserve some objects, of no intrinsic worth, but possessing an inestimable value in our eyes as having been used by the Emperor. We begged, we entreated, we fixed no limits to our offers; but the more we insisted, the more harshly we were refused, and finally could not obtain any thing. By way of compensation, however, Hudson announced to us, with infinite grace, that we were to prepare for our departure, and that we should sail in a Government vessel, and at the expense of Government.

Being about to leave St. Helena, the moment had arrived to sum up our reckoning with our hosts: General Bertrand had an old affair to settle with Lowe, and was preparing to do so; but the gaoler entered into a negotiation, and the affair was arranged.

This had the effect of rendering him more pliable and attentive: he took upon himself to choose a ship for us, to give us a captain that might be relied upon, and a crew of good sailors, and had cast his eyes upon the Camel store-ship, a light and commodious transport,



uniting every advantage. We were endeavouring to guess the cause of these sudden kind dispositions of Hudson, when we were informed that the wonderful vessel was one used in transporting the provisions required for the island. We made a representation to him ; but he exclaimed against it, protesting that we had been deceived, and ordering us to send our luggage on board. We did so ; and supposing we were to embark the same night, we followed.

But before we left the island, we went to see, for the last time, the spot where Napoleon reposed. We bathed it with our tears, we surrounded it with violets and pansies, and bade *him* adieu for ever ! We took with us a few branches of willow, which the soldiers had not the courage to refuse us, and arrived at James Town : but there had not been time enough to embark every thing ; many boxes were still on shore, and the departure was therefore postponed till the next day. Hudson was waiting for us with Lady Lowe ; he invited us to dinner, and we accepted. Mirth and magnificence presided over the banquet : Lowe was almost amiable ; it might have been thought that he

had resigned his keys. But we were totally undeceived in that respect when we got on board the ship, which turned out to be, exactly as we had been told, a dirty narrow vessel used for the transport of bullocks, pigs, sheep, &c. for the consumption of the island. The connexion was ingenious, and the choice worthy of the person who had made it; but we were going to escape from bolts and locks, and we therefore resigned ourselves to the annoyance of being crowded pell-mell in a filthy ship. The weather was fine; not a cloud was to be seen. We weighed anchor on the 27th of May, and left this unfortunate station—not, however, without regret.

The wind filled our sails, the day was declining, and St. Helena was disappearing in the horizon. We waved a last farewell to that horrible rock, and went each of us in search of a little space in which we might repose ourselves. This was not an easy matter, for the deck was covered with boxes; from the stern to the head nothing was to be seen but furniture and bales: and Hudson had, in addition, crammed into this frail boat, which was below the dimensions of a

sloop, two hundred soldiers whom he was sending to Europe. The only resource was therefore to squat down at the foot of a mast or upon the frame of a gun ; in short, wherever a place could be found to lean one's head.

We had passed the tropic and reached the equator, and the beauty, brilliancy, and mildness of the weather, made us feel our uncomfortable situation less keenly ; but we were, however, not long before we began to experience the effects of it. Abdominal pains soon made their appearance, diarrhoea followed, and we were threatened with all the ravages dysentery commits in those latitudes. We redoubled our cares and precautions ; we used medicines and salt-water baths, and succeeded in arresting the progress of the disorder, having only lost a few soldiers.

We had escaped disease ; but our voyage had been so protracted, that our fowls had perished, we had no more fresh meat, and water and provisions were nearly exhausted, when we saw the Azores. This was the first station we approached ; and, sinking under heat and fatigue,

we requested the captain to lay-to, and send to purchase some provisions for us: but he had been ordered not to touch any where; we were only ten days' sail from Portsmouth, and he therefore refused. Madame Bertrand being still an invalid, and recovering but very slowly from the illness she had suffered on board, we insisted; but were told that there still remained some salt meat and a little water; that we could wait, and that he would make all sail and increase our speed.

Our speed was indeed increased with a vengeance; for the sky became dark, the wind impetuous, and the sea, violently agitated by the storm, carried us on at the rate of nine, eleven, and twelve knots an hour. This storm proved fatal to us; for the sea covered two boxes where we cultivated the willow branches we had gathered on the Emperor's tomb, and killed them.

Having passed Africa, and being in Europe, within the limits prescribed by Napoleon, his executors took cognizance of his last testamentary dispositions. They were intended to

dwell only in the hearts of those whom they concerned ; but England, where every thing is turned to account, has rendered them public for a shilling. They having, therefore, been published, I may, without impropriety, give them a place in these pages.

TESTAMENT  
OF  
NAPOLEON.

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NAPOLEON.

*This 15th April, 1821, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena. This is my Testament, or act of my last will.*

1. I DIE in the Apostolical Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born, more than fifty years since.

2. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I have loved so well.

3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Maria Louisa. I retain

for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments—I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

4. I recommend to my son, never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe: he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto: “ *Every thing for the French people.*”

5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its \* \* \*. The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and La Fayette.

I forgive them—May the posterity of France forgive them as I do !

7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, the Cardinal, my brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catarine, Eugène, for the interest they have continued to feel for me. I pardon Louis for the libel he published in 1820: it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

8. I disavow the "Manuscript of St. Helena," and other works, under the title of Maxims, Sayings, &c., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. Such are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I should act in the same way.

## II.

1. I bequeath to my son, the boxes, orders, and other articles; such as my plate, field-bed, saddles, spurs, chapel-plate, books, linen which



I have been accustomed to wear and use, according to the list annexed (A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him, as coming from a father of whom the whole world will remind him.

2. I bequeath to Lady Holland the antique Cameo which Pope Pius VI. gave me at Tolentino.

3. I bequeath to Count Montholon, two millions of francs, as a proof of my satisfaction for the filial attentions he has paid me during six years, and as an indemnity for the losses his residence at St. Helena has occasioned him.

4. I bequeath to Count Bertrand, five hundred thousand francs.

5. I bequeath to Marchand, my first valet-de-chambre, four hundred thousand francs. The services he has rendered me are those of a friend; it is my wish that he should marry the widow, sister, or daughter, of an officer of my old Guard.

6. Item. To St. Denis, one hundred thousand francs.

7. Item. To Novarre (Noverraz,) one hundred thousand francs.

8. Item. To Pieron, one hundred thousand francs.

9. Item. To Archambaud, fifty thousand francs.

10. Item. To Cursot, twenty-five thousand francs.

11. Item. To Chandellier, twenty-five thousand francs.

12. To the Abbé Vignali, one hundred thousand francs. It is my wish that he should build his house near the Ponte Novo di Ros-  
tino.

13. Item. To Count Las Cases, one hundred thousand francs.

14. Item. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

15. Item. To Larrey, surgeon-in-chief, one

hundred thousand francs.—He is the most virtuous man I have known.

16. Item. To General Brayher, one hundred thousand francs.

17. Item. To General Le Fevre Desnouettes, one hundred thousand francs.

18. Item. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

19. Item. To General Cambrone, one hundred thousand francs.

20. Item. To the children of General Mouton Duvernet, one hundred thousand francs.

21. Item. To the children of the brave Labedoyère, one hundred thousand francs.

22. Item. To the children of General Girard, killed at Ligny, one hundred thousand francs.

23. Item. To the children of General Chartrand, one hundred thousand francs.

24. Item. To the children of the virtuous General Travot, one hundred thousand francs.

25. Item. To General Lallemand the elder, one hundred thousand francs.

26. Item. To Count Réal, one hundred thousand francs.

27. Item. To Costa de Bastelica, in Corsica, one hundred thousand francs.

28. Item. To General Clausel, one hundred thousand francs.

29. Item. To Baron de Mennevalle, one hundred thousand francs.

30. Item. To Arnault, the author of *Marius*, one hundred thousand francs.

31. Item. To Colonel Marbot, one hundred thousand francs.—I recommend him to continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies, and to confound their calumniators and apostates.

32. Item. To Baron Bignon, one hundred thousand francs.—I recommend him to write the history of French diplomacy from 1792 to 1815

*(Second Sheet.)*

2. I bequeath my private domain, one half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French army who have fought since 1792 to 1815, for the glory and the independence of the nation ; the distribution to be made in proportion to their appointments upon active service ; and one half to the towns and districts of Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, the Isle of France, Champagne Forest, Dauphiné, which may have suffered by either of the invasions. There shall be previously set apart from this sum, one million for the town of Brienne, and one million for that of Méry. I appoint Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand, the executors of my will.

This present will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed, and sealed with my own arms.

NAPOLEON.

(L. S.)

## LIST (A).

*Annexed to my Will.*

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,  
this 15th April, 1821.

## I.

1. The consecrated vessels which have been in use at my chapel at Longwood.

2. I direct Abbé Vignali to preserve them, and to deliver them to my son when he shall reach the age of sixteen years.

## II.

1. My arms ; that is to say, my sword, that which I wore at Austerlitz, the sabre of Sobiesky, my dagger, my broad sword, my hanger, my two pair of Versailles pistols.

2. My gold dressing-case, that which I made use of on the morning of Ulm and of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Eylau, of Friedland, of the Island of Lobau, of the Moskwa, of Montmirail. In this point of view it is my wish that it may be precious in the eyes of my son. (It has been deposited with Count Bertrand since 1814.)

3. I charge Count Bertrand with the care of preserving these objects, and of conveying them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

### III.

1. Three small mahogany boxes, containing, the first, thirty-three snuff-boxes or comfit-boxes; the second, twelve boxes with the Imperial arms, two small eye-glasses, and four boxes found on the table of Louis XVIII. in the Tuileries, on the 20th of March, 1815; the third, three snuff-boxes, ornamented with silver medals habitually used by the Emperor; and sundry articles for the use of the toilet, according to the lists numbered I. II. III.

2. My field-beds, which I used in all my campaigns.

3. My field-telescope.

4. My dressing-case, one of each of my uniforms, a dozen of shirts, and a complete set of each of my dresses, and generally of every thing used in my toilet.

5. My wash-hand stand.

6. A small clock which is in my bed-chamber at Longwood.

7. My two watches, and the chain of the Empress's hair.

8. I entrust the care of these articles to Marchand, my principal valet-de-chambre, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

#### IV.

1. My cabinet of medals.

2. My plate, and my Sèvres china, which I used at St Helena. (List B. and C.)

3. I request Count Montholon to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

#### V.

1. My three saddles and bridles, my spurs which I used at St. Helena.

2. My fowling-pieces, to the number of five.



3. I charge my *chasseur*, Noverraz, with the care of these articles, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

## VI.

1. Four hundred volumes, selected from those in my library which I have been accustomed to use the most.

2. I direct St. Denis to take care of them, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

NAPOLEON.

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## LIST (A).

1. None of the articles which have been used by me shall be sold; the residue shall be divided amongst the executors of my will and my brothers.

2. Marchand shall preserve my hair, and cause a bracelet to be made of it, with a little gold clasp, to be sent to the Empress Maria Louisa, to my mother, and to each of my

brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, the Cardinal ; and one of larger size for my son.

3. Marchand will send one pair of my gold shoe-buckles to Prince Joseph.

4. A small pair of gold knee-buckles to Prince Lucien.

5. A gold collar-clasp to Prince Jerome.

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LIST (A).

*Inventory of my effects, which Marchand will take care of, and convey to my son.*

1. My silver dressing-case, that which is on my table, furnished with all its utensils, razors, &c.

2. My alarun-clock : it is the alarun-clock of Frederic II. which I took at Potsdam (in box No. III.).

3. My two watches, with the chain of the Empress's hair, and a chain of my own hair for the other watch : Marchand will get it made at Paris.

4. My two seals (one the seal of France, contained in box No. III.).

5. The small gold clock which is now in my bed-chamber.

6. My wash-hand-stand and its water-jug.

7. My night-tables, those I used in France, and my silver-gilt bidet.

8. My two iron bedsteads, my mattresses, and my coverlets, if they can be preserved.

9. My three silver decanters, which held my eau-de-vie, and which my *chasseurs* carried in the field.

10. My French telescope.

11. My spurs, two pair.

12. Three mahogany boxes, No. I. II. III., containing my snuff-boxes and other articles.

13. A silver-gilt perfuming pan.

*Body Linen.*

Six shirts.

Six handkerchiefs.

Six cravats.

Six napkins.

Six pair of silk stockings.

Four black stocks.

Six pair of under-stockings.

Two pair of cambric sheets.

Two pillow cases.

Two dressing-gowns.

Two pair of night drawers.

One pair of braces.

Four pair of white kerseymere breeches and  
vests.

Six madras.

Six flannel waistcoats.

Four pair of drawers.

Six pair of gaiters.

One small box filled with my snuff.

One gold neck-buckle,

One pair gold knee-buckles,

One pair gold shoe-buckles,

} contained in the little  
box, No. III.

### *Clothes.*

One uniform of the Chasseurs.

One ditto Grenadiers.

One ditto National Guard.

Two hats.

One green-and-grey great coat.

One blue cloak (that which I had at Marengo.)  
One sable green pelisse.  
Two pair of shoes.  
Two pair of boots.  
One pair of slippers.  
Six belts.

NAPOLEON.

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List (B).

*Inventory of the Effects which I left in the possession of Monsieur the Count de Turenne.*

One Sabre of Sobiesky. (It is, by mistake, inserted in List (A.) that being the sabre which the Emperor wore at Aboukir, and which is in the hands of Count Bertrand).

One Grand Collar of the Legion of Honour.

One sword of silver-gilt.

One Consular sword.

One sword of steel.

One velvet belt.

One Collar of the Golden Fleece.

One small dressing-case of steel.

One night-lamp of silver.

One handle of an antique sabre.

One hat *à la* Henry IV. and a toque\*. The  
lace of the Emperor.

One small cabinet of medals.

Two Turkey carpets.

Two mantles of crimson velvet, embroidered,  
with vests, and small-clothes.

I give to my son the sabre of Sobiesky.

Do. the collar of the Legion of  
Honour.

Do. the sword silver gilt.

Do. the Consular sword.

Do. the steel sword.

Do. the collar of the Golden  
Fleece.

Do. the hat *à la* Henry IV. and  
the *toque*.

Do. the golden dressing-case for  
the teeth, which is in the  
hands of the dentist.

\* A velvet hat, with a flat crown, and brims turned up.

To the Empress Maria Louisa, my lace.

To Madame, the silver night-lamp.

To the Cardinal, the small steel dressing-case.

To Prince Eugene, the wax-candle-stick, silver gilt.

To the Princess Pauline, the small cabinet of medals.

To the Queen of Naples, a small Turkey carpet.

To the Queen Hortense, a small Turkey carpet.

To Prince Jerome, the handle of the antique sabre.

To Prince Joseph, an embroidered mantle, vest, and small-clothes.

To Prince Lucien, an embroidered mantle, vest, and small-clothes.

NAPOLEON.

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This 24th of April, 1821, Longwood.

*This is my Codicil or act of my last Will.*

Upon the funds remitted in gold to the Empress Maria Louisa, my very dear and well-

beloved spouse, at Orleans, in 1814, she remains in my debt two millions, of which I dispose by the present Codicil, for the purpose of recompensing my most faithful servants, whom moreover I recommend to the protection of my dear Maria Louisa.

1. I recommend to the Empress to cause the income of thirty thousand francs, which Count Bertrand possessed in the Duchy of Parma, and upon the Mont Napoleon at Milan, to be restored to him, as well as the arrears due.

2. I make the same recommendation to her with regard to the Duke of Istria, Duroc's daughter, and others of my servants who have continued faithful to me, and who have never ceased to be dear to me : she knows them.

3. Out of the above-mentioned two millions I bequeath three hundred thousand francs to Count Bertrand, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be employed in legacies of conscience, according to my dispositions.



4. I bequeath two hundred thousand francs to Count Montholon, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

5. Item, two hundred thousand francs to Count Las Cases, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

6. Item, to Marchand one hundred thousand francs, of which he will place fifty thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

7. To Jean Jerome Levi, the Mayor of Ajaccio at the commencement of the revolution, or to his widow, children, or grand-children, one hundred thousand francs.

8. To Duroc's daughter, one hundred thousand francs.

9. To the son of Bessières, Duke of Istria, one hundred thousand francs.

10. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

11. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

12. Item, one hundred thousand francs ; that is to say :—

Twenty-five thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel.

Twenty-five thousand to Novarre, my *chasseur*.

Twenty-five thousand to St. Denis, the keeper of my books.

Twenty-five thousand to Santini, my former door-keeper.

13. Item, one hundred thousand francs ; that is to say :—

Forty thousand to Planat, my orderly officer.

Twenty thousand to Hébert, lately house-keeper of Rambouillet, and who belonged to my chamber in Egypt.

Twenty thousand to Lavigné, who was lately keeper of one of my stables, and who was my *piqueur* in Egypt.

**Twenty thousand to Jeanet Dervieux, who was overseer of the stables, and served me in Egypt.**

**14. Two hundred thousand francs shall be distributed in alms to the inhabitants of Brice-le-Château, who have suffered most.**

**15. The three hundred thousand francs remaining shall be distributed to the officers and soldiers of the battalion of my guard at the Island of Elba who may be now alive, or to their widows and children, in proportion to their appointments, and according to an estimate which shall be fixed by my testamentary executors: those who have suffered amputation, or have been severely wounded, shall receive double; the estimate to be fixed by Larrey and Emmery.**

**This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.**

**NAPOLEON.**

This 24th April, 1821. Longwood.

*This is my Codicil, or note of my last Will.*

Out of the settlement of my civil list of Italy, such as money, jewels, plate, linen, equipages, of which the Viceroy is the depositary, and which belonged to me, I dispose of two millions, which I bequeath to my most faithful servants. I hope that, without availing himself of any reason to the contrary, my son Eugene Napoleon will pay them faithfully. He cannot forget the forty millions which I gave him in Italy, and in the distribution of the inheritance of his mother.

1. Out of these two millions, I bequeath to Count Bertrand three hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be disposed of according to my dispositions in payment of legacies of conscience.

2. To Count Montholon, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hun-

dred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

3. To Count Las Cases, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

4. To Marchand, one hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit fifty thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above-mentioned.

5. To Count La Valette, one hundred thousand francs.

6. To General Hogendorf, of Holland, my aide-de-camp, who has retired to the Brazils, one hundred thousand francs.

7. To my aide-de-camp, Corbineau, fifty thousand francs.

8. To my aide-de-camp, General Caffarelli, fifty thousand francs.

9. To my aide-de-camp, Dejean, fifty thousand francs.

10. To Percy, surgeon-in-chief at Waterloo, fifty thousand francs.

11. Fifty thousand francs, that is to say :—

Ten thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel.

Ten thousand to St. Denis, my head *chasseur*.

Ten thousand to Noverraz.

Ten thousand to Cursot, my clerk of the kitchen.

Ten thousand to Archambaud, my *piqueur*.

12. To Baron De Mennevalle, fifty thousand francs.

13. To the Duke d'Istria, son of Bessières, fifty thousand francs.

14. To the daughter of Duroc, fifty thousand francs.

15. To the children of Labedoyère, fifty thousand francs.

16. To the children of Mouton Duvernet, fifty thousand francs.

17. To the children of the brave and virtuous General Travot, fifty thousand francs.

18. To the children of Chartrand, fifty thousand francs.

19. To General Cambrone, fifty thousand francs.

20. To General Lefevre Desnouettes, fifty thousand francs.

21. To be distributed amongst such proscribed persons as wander in foreign countries, whether they be French, Italian, Belgians, Dutch, Spanish, or inhabitants of the departments of the Rhine, under the directions of my executors, and upon their orders, one hundred thousand francs.

22. To be distributed amongst those who suffered amputation, or were severely wounded at Ligny or Waterloo, who may be still living, according to lists drawn up by my executors, to whom shall be added Cambrone, Larrey, Percy, and Emmery. The guards shall be paid double ; those of the Island of Elba, quadruple ; two hundred thousand francs.

This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821, at Longwood.

*This is a third Codicil to my Will of the 15th of April.*

1. Amongst the diamonds of the Crown which were delivered up in 1814, there were some to the value of five or six hundred thousand francs, not belonging to it, but which formed part of my private property; repossession shall be obtained of them in order to discharge my legacies.

2. I had in the hands of the banker Torlonia, at Rome, bills of exchange to the amount of two or three hundred thousand francs, the product of my revenues of the Island of Elba since 1815. The Sieur De la Perruse, although no longer my treasurer, and not invested with any character, possessed himself of this sum. He shall be compelled to refund it.

3. I bequeath to the Duke of Istria three hundred thousand francs, of which only one hundred thousand francs shall be reversible to his widow, should the Duke be dead before



payment of the legacy. It is my wish, should there be no inconvenience in it, that the Duke may marry Duroc's daughter.

4. I bequeath to the Duchess of Frioul, the daughter of Duroc, two hundred thousand francs: should she be dead before the payment of this legacy, none of it shall be given to the mother.

5. I bequeath to General Rigaud, (to him who was proscribed,) one hundred thousand francs.

6. I bequeath to Boisnod, the intendant-commissary, one hundred thousand francs.

7. I bequeath to the children of General Letort, who was killed in the campaign of 1815, one hundred thousand francs.

8. These eight hundred thousand francs of legacies shall be considered as inserted at the end of Article thirty-six of my testament, which will make the legacies I have disposed of by will amount to the sum of six million four

hundred thousand francs, without including the donations I have made by my second codicil.

This is written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

(L. S.)

NAPOLEON.

[On the outside is written :]

This is my third codicil to my will, entirely written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

To be opened the same day, and immediately after the opening of my will.

NAPOLEON.

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This 24th of April, 1821. Longwood.

*This is a fourth Codicil to my Testament.*

By the dispositions we have heretofore made, we have not fulfilled all our obligations, which has decided us to make this fourth codicil.

1. We bequeath to the son or grandson of Baron Dutheil, lieutenant-general of artillery,

and formerly lord of St. André, who commanded the school of Auxonne before the Revolution, the sum of one hundred thousand francs, as a memento of gratitude for the care which that brave general took of us when we were lieutenant and captain under his orders.

2. Item. To the son or grandson of General Dugomier, who commanded in chief the army of Toulon, the sum of one hundred thousand francs. We, under his orders, directed that siege, and commanded the artillery: it is a testimonial of remembrance for the marks of esteem, affection, and friendship, which that brave and intrepid general gave us.

3. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the son or grandson of the deputy of the Convention, Gasparin, representative of the people at the army of Toulon, for having protected and sanctioned with his authority the plan we had given, which procured the capture of that city, and which was contrary to that sent by the Committee of Public Safety. Gasparin, by his protection, sheltered us from the persecution and ignorance of the

general officers who commanded the army before the arrival of my friend Dugomier.

4. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the widow, son, or grandson, of our aid-de-camp Muiron, killed at our side at Arcola, covering us with his body.

5. Item. Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that *oligarchist*, as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify it by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that lord, would have pleaded the same excuse, and been justified by the same motive—the interest of France—to get rid of this General, who, moreover, by violating the capitulation of Paris, had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs Ney, Labedoyère, &c.; and for the crime of

having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties.

6. These four hundred thousand francs shall be added to the six million four hundred thousand of which we have disposed, and will make our legacies amount to six million eight hundred and ten thousand francs; these four hundred and ten thousand are to be considered as forming part of our testament, Article 36, and to follow in every respect the same course as the other legacies.

7. The nine thousand pounds sterling which we gave to Count and Countess Montholon, should, if they have been paid, be deducted and carried to the account of the legacies which we have given him by our testament. If they have not been paid, our notes of hand shall be annulled.

8. In consideration of the legacy given by our will to Count Montholon, the pension of twenty thousand francs granted to his wife is annulled. Count Montholon is charged with the payment of it to her.

9. The administration of such an inheritance, until its final liquidation, requiring expenses of offices, journeys, missions, consultations, and lawsuits, we expect that our testamentary executors shall retain 3 per cent. upon all the legacies, as well upon the six million eight hundred thousand francs, as upon the sums contained in the codicils, and upon the two hundred millions of francs of the private domain.

10. The amount of the sums thus retained shall be deposited in the hands of a treasurer, and disbursed by drafts from our testamentary executors.

11. Should the sums arising from the aforesaid deductions not be sufficient to defray the expenses, provision shall be made to that effect at the expense of the three testamentary executors and the treasurer, each in proportion to the legacy which we have bequeathed to them in our will and codicils.

12. Should the sums arising from the before-mentioned subtractions be more than necessary,

the surplus shall be divided amongst our three testamentary executors and the treasurer, in the proportion of their respective legacies.

13. We nominate Count Las Cases, and in default of him his son, and in default of the latter, General Drouot, to be treasurer.

This present codicil is entirely written with our hand, signed, and sealed with our arms.

NAPOLÉON.

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## FIRST LETTER.

TO M. LAFITTE.

Monsieur Lafitte, I delivered to you in 1815, at the moment of my departure from Paris, a sum of nearly six millions, for which you gave me a receipt in duplicate. I have cancelled one of the receipts, and I direct Count Montholon to present the other receipt to you, in order that you may pay to him, after my death, the said sum, with interest at the rate of 5 per

cent. from the 1st of July, 1815, deducting the payments which you have been instructed to make by virtue of my orders.

It is my wish that the settlement of your account be agreed upon between you, Count Montholon, Count Bertrand, and the Sieur Marchand; and that settlement being made, I give you, by these presents, a complete and absolute discharge from the said sum.

I also, at that time, placed in your hands a box containing my cabinet of medals. I beg you will deliver it to Count Montholon.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur Lafitte, to have you in his holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,  
the 25th April, 1821.



## SECOND LETTER.

TO THE BARON LABOUILLERIE.

Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, treasurer of my private domain, I beg you will deliver the account and the amount thereof, after my death, to Count Montholon, whom I have charged with the execution of my will.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, to have you in his holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,  
25th April, 1821.

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The storm had ceased; but it blew fresh, and we were soon in sight of the coast, and successively discovered the Isle of Wight, Portsmouth, and Spithead, where we anchored on the 31st July, after an unpleasant passage of sixty-five days. The officer to whom Hudson had entrusted his despatches set off immedi-

ately for London ; but we were confined on board. The King of England was parading at some distance from us ; the ships were firing, the forts returning the fire, and in the midst of these volleys and detonations our Camel did not remain behind-hand. Gun followed gun on all sides ; we were completely stunned, and were cursing these noisy rejoicings, when we saw the squadron which escorted George IV. bear down upon us. His Majesty approached, directed his glass upon us, and sent three persons of his suite to congratulate us upon our arrival. The compliments having been delivered, questions followed. They deplored the death of Napoleon, and expressed a great desire to know every particularity and every circumstance, however trifling, attending it. Being Napoleon's physician, I was particularly the object of their marks of kindness and attention ; but I was within sight of the land whence the orders of death had issued, and was not disposed to be very communicative.

At last, after three days' seclusion, we were informed that we might go ashore ; that we

were free, and at liberty to direct our steps wherever we thought proper, subject, however, to the provisions of the *Alien Bill*. This was a matter of indifference to me: all that I had seen of England did not tempt me to live in that country, and I cared very little about its laws and savage measures.

We landed—the bells were ringing—the people flocked to the port, and we were surrounded, pressed, greeted with the eagerness of a nation which discarded all participation in the crime which had plunged us in such deep affliction. Two days afterwards I set off for London, where I arrived the same day, and immediately wrote to Madame Mère to inform her of my return. The Council had sent for me to appear before them: I went, and found that they wished to have some information respecting the climate of St. Helena; which I gave them. “And Longwood? its situation was good?”—“Horrible! cold, hot, dry, and damp, it exhibited an amalgamation of every extreme of atmospherical variation twenty times in a day.” “But this had no influence on General Bonaparte’s health?”—“It sent him to his grave!”—

“How can that be? he died of an hereditary affection.”—“Hereditary diseases are chimeras, the existence of which medicine does not acknowledge. It was the climate that killed him.”—“You think so?”—“I am certain of it.”—“But his father?”—“His father died of a *schirrus of the pylorus*, and he of a *chronic gastro-hepatitis*. His affections had not been transmitted to him any more than his genius; every thing resided in him.”—“Would he not have been attacked with the same complaint in Europe?”—“No: it is endemic only in the latitude of St. Helena.”—“What would have been the consequence of a change of residence?”—“That he would still be alive.”—“Even though the change should have taken place only a few months ago?”—“Even then: his constitution was naturally strong, and it has required two years’ exposure to the climate to destroy it.”—“Did the formation of the ulcer date only from that period?”—“It had no existence before.”—“It is a pity!”—“A pity!!”—“But the tranquillity of the world was at stake.”—“However.....”—“Yes,” said a member of the Council, “he would have upset Europe again, if he had been able to ap-

proach it.”—“ Political questions are not within my sphere ; but there were stations quite as secure, and less unhealthy.”—“ Who could know that St. Helena was so insalubrious ?”—“ Who ?—the Parliament, the Royal Society, every body. Registers of deaths are every where kept ; and they prove that nobody at St. Helena attains the age of forty, without either dying or being struck with intellectual nullity.” This reply offended one of the members of the Council. “ What signifies, after all, the death of General Bonaparte ? It rids us of an implacable enemy, and delivers him from a painful situation in which he would have remained for ever.”—“ The assurances given to us by the Governor,” answered I, “ were not of that nature.”—“ The Governor ! the Governor !”—“ Your Excellency does not do him justice : he was a strict follower of his instructions.”—“ If so, why did he not cause the body of Bonaparte to be thrown into lime ? the idol would then have been completely destroyed, and we should have the sooner done with him.”

His Excellency had opened his mind without reserve : I had nothing more to say, and

withdrew. I now had the measure of ministerial antipathy. I thought that \* \* \* had communicated it to his agents ; but I was mistaken. One of these agents had followed me from St. Helena to London, in the hope of obtaining possession of the cast of Napoleon's face, and had preferred a complaint ; stating, that *amongst the effects of Count Bertrand, and in his dwelling, was a bust in plaster of General Bonaparte, which belonged to him ; but which the Count and Countess nevertheless obstinately persisted in retaining.* In consequence of this statement he was authorized to employ an armed force, in order to regain possession of it.\* The Grand Marshal interfered, and the magistrate, being informed of the nature of Burton's right to the property, withdrew the authorisation he had given, and I remained possessor of the cast, which I preserve with religious care. Coercive measures having failed, offers were resorted to : six thousand pounds sterling were proposed to me if I would give up the cast, and only keep a copy of it ; but I proposed to present one to Madame Mère, and to keep one for myself, and therefore refused.

\* Mr. Antommarchi probably means that a search-warrant was obtained.—*Engl. Editor.*

I had procured a passport from the French embassy, and immediately made my arrangements to proceed to Rome. Leaving London, therefore, I passed through Dover and Calais, and arrived at Paris, where I applied to the Austrian ambassador, who refused to countersign my passport. I nevertheless continued my journey, but the police awaited me at the foot of the mountains; and there I found officers, inspectors, delegates, in short agents of every description and denomination. The first into whose hands I fell was the tutelary genius of Chamberry. He apologized, questioned, searched, and did not leave a single article of my effects untouched or unexamined. He very much regretted, he said, to be obliged to submit me to so strict an investigation, but such was the custom; he could, besides, very well see that I did not belong to any factious party, and he could comply with the instructions he had received without prejudice to the friendly sentiments he felt disposed to entertain for me. Unfortunately, in the midst of the warmth of these professions, he espied an open letter which I was carrying from London to Turin. This letter he read; and finding its tenor mysterious,

and its meaning obscure, he expressed himself particularly grieved to be under the necessity of sending it to the Minister. I left this man to his visions, and returned to the hotel where I lodged; but I had scarcely got there before he sent for me. He had searched and ransacked further, and had found amongst my papers some old algebraical calculation. This was too much: a conspiracy clearly existed; I could not deny it—he held the proof of it in his hand. I protested in vain that such was not the case; that these signs were well known, and commonly employed; that sciences . . . . . “Down with all abettors of revolutions! Respect the King’s servant.”—“How have I offended him?”—“By expressions which he must not hear.”—“What do you mean?”—“That rebellion has not yet sufficiently disturbed the earth; that materials are still to be found wherewith to shake thrones, subvert legitimacy, and convulse Europe!”—“Does this concern me?”—“Yes, Sir, you!”—“I have never even thought of any such thing.”—“What, then, are you thinking about? what do you propose to do?”—“To pass the mountains as quickly as possible, and reach Turin.”—“Do you really think that



I am not aware of your plans?" — "What plans? what do you mean?" — "That I know all: come, Sir, confess it! for, situated as you are, unreserved candour alone can save you; who is this X?" — "What X?" — "He whom you are going to seduce and mislead." — "I!" — "Yes, you." He unrolled the paper upon which the calculations were detailed: "There, Sir, who is that X?" — "X is the unknown." — "You are pleased to be merry, Sir: secretary, write that he is trifling." The secretary wrote accordingly, and the police personage continued: — "My correspondence had given me every information; before your arrival, I was aware of all that is going forward: that X is Mr. \* \* \*, is it not?" I was astonished, thunderstruck at the horrible industry and ingenuity of this man; he took my silence for a kind of confession, and his arguments became the more pressing. He had guessed at once, he said; all disaffected individuals were known to him; he watched over them, surrounded them with snares: there was not one of them whose hopes and plans he could not tell. But how could *I* join in such plots? I had been deceived and imposed upon: he was disposed to make every allowance for

youth and inexperience ; and would willingly give me an opportunity of retracing my steps ; but I must confess every thing, and disclose who X, Y, and Z, were. With respect to X, he had found him out ; yet he should be glad to learn from me that he had guessed rightly ; besides, he was arrested.”—“ Who, X ? ”—“ Yes ; last night four soldiers arrested him, and conducted him to the fortress ; as for Y and Z, they have probably absconded.”—“ Do you really think they have ? ”—“ And what is more, they cannot escape.”—“ How so ? ”—“ I have dispatched people to Milan and Bologna. Well ! (he was observing the expression of my features) have I guessed ? ”—“ Perfectly well.”—“ Y is, \* \* \* ? ”—“ No.”—“ No, no, I meant to say \* \* \* \*. And Z ; you fancy, perhaps, that I do not know him, because he is further off ; but you are mistaken—it is \* \* \*. Come, confess, it is he.”—“ Who ? ”—“ You know the man I mean, he has a wound ..... no, not a wound, a mark on the forehead.”—“ No, he has nothing of the kind. But this is carrying things too far. It is a most unworthy attempt to endeavour to transform a problem into a conspiracy !

to discover conspirators in X's and Y's! and to betray me into mentioning names to personify them! Such a treatment, Mr. Roassio, would not be experienced from common plunderers in a wood."

I advanced towards the door without meeting with any opposition, and withdrew; but before I could reach the hotel, his *sbirri*\* were already seeking for me. I followed them, and was once more conducted before the same personage. I found him in a meditative mood, holding in his hand the letter he had taken from me, and poring over its contents. "I have found out the plot," said he; "it is here; I have got a clue to the whole mystery; these two documents mutually explain each other: for the last time, Sir, will you confess?" — "Confess what?" — "The existence of the plot of which I hold the proofs! — the plan of corruption of which you have traced the declaration with your own hand." — "Who, I?" — "You, Sir; read: Y and Z *remain to be determined*. They are, then, still hesitating; and it is in order to seduce and corrupt them, that you wish to get

\* A kind of constable.

near them!"—"Once more, Sir, I must tell you, it is abusing your authority to imagine conspiracies in a college exercise."—"A college exercise!"—"Neither more nor less."—"You forget yourself, Sir; you endeavour to deceive a magistrate! Nothing of the kind is thought of in colleges. I never heard of any thing of the kind. Why did you go to St. Helena?"—"Because it suited my convenience."—"What did you do there?"—"I took lessons of patience; it is a virtue highly necessary with the police, and heaven had provided for its practice!"—"You were living under the superintendence of one of the magistrates of the Island, were you not?"—"Yes; and one who was worth all other magistrates put together."—"All! that is saying a great deal."—"But not more than the truth: you only see one conspiracy in this letter; Reade would have discovered *ten* in every line of it."—"Indeed!"—"It is a fact."—"He was a clever man."—"Quite an *Œdipus*!"—"But for him..."—"But for you..."—"I should be..."—"Without an equal, and he also. I have nothing more to say; I am going—farewell until I see you again."

The magistrate made a slight inclination of the head, sent for me again in an hour afterwards, again dismissed and again recalled me ; made me rise five times the same night, and only consented after nine hours deliberation to endorse and countersign my passport, which he did upon the condition that I should proceed immediately on my arrival at Turin to the office of the Minister of Police.

Fortunately the alarms entertained by the magistrate of Chambery did not prevail at Turin ; but the game was only deferred : I was to pass through Boffalora, and there I found an inspector, who questioned, tormented, threatened, and only agreed, after a stormy discussion, to endorse my passport in the following polite terms :—

“ Boffalora, Oct. 12th, 1821.

*“ Seen and approved for the continuation of the journey to Rome, provided the bearer follow the road from Majenta to Milan, and be out of the Lombardian provinces in the space of two days, beginning from the present.*

(Signed)

“ LELLI,

“ Inspector of the Police at Boffalora.”

I followed the route pointed out by this Inspector, but I could not with equal readiness comply with his instructions respecting the evacuation of the Lombardian States. The weather was horrible when I got to Milan, and the Governor was in the country. I was therefore obliged to wait ; but, as my presence endangered the public safety, a courier was despatched to the magistrate, who gave orders for my being examined and removed, and not allowed to remain an hour longer in the capital. I was accordingly sent for, examined, and tormented in a thousand ways ; until at last I fell into the hands of a man who, less savage than his chief, granted me the remainder of the day, and endorsed my passport in the following manner :—

“ Milan, Oct. 14th, 1821.

“ Seen at the Imperial and Royal Police Office, and approved for the continuation of the journey to Rome, following the route of Florence, and leaving Milan in the course of this very day.

(Signed)

“ MORELLI, *Delegate.*”

The weather was horrible, and the decision very unceremonious ; but I had expected even worse. Without, therefore, making any observation, I started, travelled all night, and arrived the next morning at Parma.

The Chevalier Rossi, major of dragoons, whom I had known previously to my departure from St. Helena, was kind enough to introduce me to Count Neipperg, who received me very politely, and made numerous inquiries concerning the illness and death of the Emperor. I was desirous of giving the same details to the Empress, and of delivering in person a letter addressed to her by Counts Bertrand and Montholon ; and I requested his Excellency to obtain for me an audience of her Majesty.—“ I cannot,” answered he : “ the intelligence of your arrival has had the effect of increasing the grief of the Archduchess ; and in her present state of affliction she is unable to receive you. But I offer to be the medium of your communication : I will convey to her whatever you may confide to me orally ; and will deliver to her the letter of which you are the bearer, if you have no objection to its passing through my hands.”

I was far from entertaining any feelings of mistrust; and if I had entertained any, the kindness of the Count's manner would have been sufficient to dissipate them. I therefore delivered the letter to him; he took it, left the room, and returned in a few minutes.—“ Her Majesty has read the letter, and deeply regrets that she cannot see you; but it is out of her power to do so. She eagerly accedes to the last wishes of Napoleon respecting you; but before she complies with them, it is necessary that she should submit them to her august father. You are acquainted with their import?”—“ I am.”—“ It matters not; I will nevertheless read them to you :—

“ London, 12th September, 1821.

“ MADAM,

“ Doctor Antommarchi, who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your Majesty, attended the Emperor, your august consort, during the illness to which he fell a victim.

“ In his last moments the Emperor directed us to inform your Majesty, that he begged you to pay to Mr. Antommarchi a pension for life of six thousand francs, as a reward for his ser-



vices at St. Helena; and that he desired that your Majesty would attach the Doctor to your household as your surgeon in ordinary, as well as Abbé Vignali in quality of almoner, until the majority of his son, to whom the Emperor wished that he might then be attached.

“ We think we are fulfilling a last duty which we owe to the Emperor, in communicating to your Majesty his wishes in this respect, which he repeated to us on several occasions.

“ We have the honour to be,

“ MADAM,

“ Your Majesty's most humble

“ And most obedient servants,

“ COUNT BERTRAND,

“ COUNT MONTHOLON.”

Count Neipperg afterwards repeatedly assured me of the satisfaction and benevolence of the Empress, in whose name he offered me a ring, which I carefully preserve.

Every person attached to the palace was in deep mourning; at which I could not help ex-

pressing my surprise. "What!" said his Excellency, "do you not know that it is by the express order of the Archduchess? The fatal intelligence was communicated to her by Prince Metternich, and completely overwhelmed her. She immediately determined that all her Court should share in her grief, and mingle the expression of their regret with her own; that they should go into mourning for three months; that a solemn funeral service should take place: in a word, that none of those ceremonies should be forgotten which the piety of the living consecrates to those who are no more. She herself was present at them all, and took pleasure in shewing to Napoleon, after his death, those sentiments of attachment and devotedness which she entertained for him during his life."—"And the young prince, how is he?"—"Perfectly well."—"Is he strong?"—"He enjoys most robust health."—"What hopes does he give?"—"He sparkles with genius; no child ever promised so much."—"Is he placed in good hands?"—"His instruction is confided to two men of the greatest capacity, to two Italians, who give him an education both brilliant and solid. Beloved by all the Imperial family, he is

particularly a favourite with the Emperor, and Prince Charles, who watches over him with unequalled anxiety." We were standing up; his Excellency had treated me with the utmost kindness, I dared not venture to push my questions any further; but he relieved me from my embarrassment by prolonging the conversation himself. "Do you know," said he, "who painted those pictures, which seem to attract your attention?"—"I do not, but their exquisite style and execution . . . ."—"Are peculiarly those of the Empress; those graceful landscapes are her work." I recollected, in fact, that Napoleon had often spoken to me of the perfection of her landscape-painting.

I now took leave of his Excellency, and rejoined the Chevalier Rossi, with whom I went in the evening to the play. His box was facing that of Maria Louisa. The *Cenerentola* was performed, and I was listening with ecstasy to that delightful music, performed by the first orchestra of Italy, when the Empress entered her box. Her appearance no longer presented that bloom of health and brilliant freshness of which the Emperor had so often spoken to me; pale, emaciated, and dejected, she bore evident

marks of the trials she had undergone. She remained but a very short time ; in fact, scarcely did more than appear : but I had seen her, and was satisfied.

I pursued my journey ; arrived first at Florence, where I was presented to the Grand Duke, who asked me several questions respecting St. Helena ; then at Rome, where I was admitted to an audience of Cardinal Fesch, who did not ask me a single one.

I wrote to the Count de Saint Leu, but he was too much grieved to be able to see me, and I thought no more about it ; to Princess Pauline, who, though suffering, would however see me, know every thing, hear every thing, and who exhibited marks of the most lively sympathy at the recital of the outrages and torments endured by Napoleon. The emotion betrayed by Madame Mère was greater still ; I was obliged to use the greatest caution, and only to relate to her part of what I had witnessed. At a second visit she was more calm and resigned. I entered into several details, which were frequently interrupted by the paroxysms of her grief. But if I suspended my recital, that

afflicted mother dried up her tears, and recommenced her questions. It was a struggle between courage and affliction, which presented a most heart-rending spectacle. I saw her a third time, when she expressed herself in terms of the utmost kindness towards me, and as a proof of her satisfaction offered me a diamond, which, coming as it does from the mother of the Emperor, shall never leave me.

On my way back to Florence I stopped at Prince Canino's, which was a short distance from that city. I was perfectly well received by all there, and numerous questions were asked of me concerning Napoleon, whose death was severely felt by the Prince and his family. I pursued my journey, and arrived at Florence, where I was detained for a few days by a conflict of pretensions and discussions of a singular nature, relating to the anatomical works of Mascagni\*.

The offers I made having been rejected, nothing remained for me to do but to set off

\* We omit the detail of these discussions.—*English Editor.*

again. This I did, and having reached Parma, I was once more presented to Count Neipperg. His Excellency renewed the assurance of the Empress's satisfaction, and delivered to me, for the Austrian Embassy in France, a letter in which that princess expressed, in the kindest terms, her benevolent intentions in favour of the physician of her husband, whose last will she wished to obey. I personally delivered that despatch to Baron Vincent, who had the goodness to communicate its contents to me.

I had had a kind of lawsuit at Florence, and found nothing but discussions on my arrival at Paris. The banker had pleaded the incapacity of Napoleon; his scruples had been listened to, and the funds had been retained in his chest. It had been consequently found necessary to reduce the legacies, and name arbitrators to moderate the pretensions of one, uphold the rights of another,—in a word, to conciliate all interests. The choice had fallen upon the Duke of Bassano, the Duke of Vicenza, and Count Daru. They were friends and ministers of Napoleon; the claims of every one were addressed to them; I also forwarded mine.

I thought that, scrupulous interpreters of the intentions of a man whom they had long served, they would respect his acts, even those concerning me; for, after all, though an isolated being, I had nevertheless had the melancholy honour of closing the eyes of our common benefactor. They were in possession of the following codicil:—

“ This day, 27th April, 1821.

“ Diseased in body, but sound in mind, I have written with my own hand this eighth codicil to my will.

“ 1st. I appoint Montholon, Bertrand, and Marchand, to be my testamentary executors, and Las Cases, or his son, to be treasurer.

“ 2nd. I request my beloved Maria Louisa to take into her service my surgeon, Antommarchi, to whom I bequeath a pension for life of six thousand francs, which she will pay to him.

“ MONTHOLON, BERTRAND,  
(*A true copy.*) and MARCHAND.

“ Paris, 12th of June, 1823.”

The executors had delivered to me the following declaration :—

“ We, the undersigned, declare and attest, that the late Emperor Napoleon told us, a few days before his death, that he had promised his physician, Doctor Antommarchi, to leave him one hundred thousand francs.

“ MONTHOLON, BERTRAND,  
and MARCHAND.

“ Paris, 14th February, 1823.”

I sent this document to the arbitrators, with a letter of the following tenor :—

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I have the honour to lay before you a copy of a document in which Messrs. Bertrand, Montholon, and Marchand declare, that a few days before his death the Emperor Napoleon had promised to leave me one hundred thousand francs.

“ I request, gentlemen and arbitrators, that you will take into consideration this act of justice and benevolence of the late Emperor, in



favour of the physician who has had the honour of attending him to his last hour.

“ I have the honour to inform you, that, at St. Helena, the executors have already carried into effect a similar order, given verbally by the Emperor in favour of the English physician who was consulted.

“ I expect this act of justice and kindness from the gentlemen appointed arbitrators to the inheritance of the late Emperor Napoleon.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

“ F. ANTOMMARCHI.”

These gentlemen pronounced the following judgment :—

“ We, the undersigned, Hugh Bernard Maret, Duke of Bassano, residing at Paris, Rue St. Lazarre, No. 56 ; Armand Augustin Lewis De Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza, residing at Paris, Rue St. Lazarre, No. 5 ; and Peter Anthony Noel Bruno, Count Daru, Peer of France, residing at Paris, Rue de Grenelle, Faubourg St.

Germain, No. 81; arbitrators and referees named in the compromise, passed between the legatees of Napoleon Bonaparte, the 26th April 1822, and enregistered at Paris by Courapié, the 22d April 1823, to judge finally, and without appeal as arbitrators, agreeably to articles 1009 and 1019 of the Civil Code, all controversies that might arise relative to the interpretation of any of the dispositions contained in the will and codicils of Napoleon Bonaparte, to the formation of the statements of repartition of each class, to the right of any person to belong to any class on account of certain sums bequeathed by the testator, and particularly to the pretensions of the legatees expressed in the various codicils; also to take from such or such funds pointed out in the various parts of the will, all claims that might be made by any creditor, or pensioner or other claimants; and in general to decide every species of difficulty arising from the liquidation of the inheritance, the execution of the will and codicils, and the final settlement of the accounts that will ultimately be presented by the executors, &c.

**“ *Fourth Question.*—Have those of the legatees of St. Helena, who claim the entire payment of their legacies, a right to such a privilege ?**

**“ With respect to that Fourth Question,**

**“ Considering, that although the memorial, claiming as a privilege the payment of the legacies bequeathed by privilege to the legatees of St. Helena, seemed to concern all the said legatees, it appears from explanations afforded by Counts Bertrand and Las Cases, that they do not intend to share in that demand ; and by Messrs. De Montholon and Marchand, that the said privilege is only claimed by them in case the hereditary portion of the estate should become available :**

**“ Considering, that although the arbitrators have not received any powers from the heir, it may, nevertheless, be allowed to them to foresee the case in which the munificence of the said heir would induce him to abandon his hereditary portion, to contribute, as far as it is in his power, to the fulfilment of the intentions**

manifested by the testator, and to the discharge of his obligations :

“ Considering, that the legatees who followed the testator in his exile, who abandoned their families, their professions, and their country, to share his captivity, and who had not fixed any limit whatever to the duration and extent of their sacrifice, find themselves peculiarly situated, and are entitled to special favour :

“ That, having been the first named in the dispositions of the testator, it is permitted to suppose, that if he had believed that he only had at his disposal the sum which he destined to the legatees of St. Helena, he would have limited his liberality :

“ That it results, moreover, from the terms used by the testator in expressing his last will, that the legacies bequeathed by him to Count Montholon were not left merely as donations, but also as indemnities for the losses occasioned to him (Count Montholon) by his residence at St. Helena, &c.”

The article *Questions* to the legatees of the testament of 15th April, 1821, and of the fourth codicil, dated the 24th, contains the following provision in my favour, in consequence of my claim for one hundred thousand francs as above stated :—

“ The estate will be charged with the payment of some pensions. Four of these are paid by the relations of the testator; only three will, therefore, remain chargeable on the estate. Of these three pensions, one, which is of a thousand francs, is due in consequence of a certificate to that effect delivered by the testator's orders; the second, which is of twelve hundred francs, is an annual and temporary provision bequeathed by the testator, payable by his relations and friends; the third, which it is proposed to make eighteen hundred francs, is also a temporary provision in favour of Dr. Antommarchi, who attended the testator to his last moments; which provision will, by its nature, cease as soon as her Majesty, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, shall, agreeably to the wish expressed by the testator, take upon herself the payment of Mr. Antommarchi's pension.”

This decision appeared outrageous to the legatees: several, and particularly General Drouot, appealed against it.—“The bequest of Napoleon,” they said, “in favour of the physician who had closed his eyes, was not a mere legacy; it was an order, a debt which the estate could not evade. If it was not thought proper to pay it in full, some respect was at least due to decorum and to the last wishes of the Emperor; and the pension ought to be doubled, and made three thousand six hundred francs.” The majority of the legatees were of the General’s opinion; Baron L\*\*\* was almost the only one who objected to it.

The arbitrators had considered the codicil concerning me as null and void, and had disregarded the intentions of Napoleon; but I cared little about it: his son was full of life, the Empress had renewed the assurance of her favourable dispositions towards me, and I therefore felt secure. I nevertheless thought it right to yield to the advice of the testamentary executors, who recommended to me to submit the decision of the arbitrators to the equity of the legatees. Part of these, at whose head was

General Montholon, granted three thousand francs, the others persisted in stipulating three thousand six hundred francs, as General Drouot had proposed. Baron L\*\*\* alone, as usual, thought that was too much for me, and not enough for himself. However, ashamed at last of being alone against all, he yielded, and the question was submitted to the arbitrators.

But these gentlemen were assailed with doubts and scruples; they were not convinced that the documents laid before them expressed the intention of those who had written them; it was necessary to wait until every one came to attest his signature, and until a meeting took place. That meeting was assembled, nobody protested against his previous intentions, and the benevolent feelings which animated the legatees was apparent.

The moment was now come to decide, and the legatees proposed to put the question to the vote, but the arbitrators refused. They then proposed to withdraw the question, and decide it themselves; the arbitrators again refused, and, obedient to the inspiration of Baron

L \* \* \* who continued to complain, they reserved to themselves the judgment of the affair, which they delivered in the following terms:—

“ We, the above-named arbitrators and referees, by virtue of the powers above enumerated, pronounce and order:—

“ 1. That half the effective of the estate of Napoleon Bonaparte shall be reserved, and kept at the disposal of the son of the testator.

“ 2. Etc.

“ 3. Etc.

“ 4. That, as the dispositions of the testator exceed the amount of the available portion of his estate, the reduction of the legacies be made conformable to Article 926 of the Civil Code, in the proportion of the amount of their legacies, (*au marc le franc,*) amongst all the legatees, without distinction.

That nevertheless, taking into consideration the motives of the appeal made by the majority of the legatees of St. Helena, and only in case the munificence of the heir should induce him to relinquish his hereditary portion in favour of



the legatees, in order to fulfil the intentions of the testator, and discharge his obligations, the distribution be made (after a proportional reduction for the payment of the debts,) so as to complete the payment in full of the legacies of the said legatees of St. Helena, and the remainder will be divided amongst the other legatees of the testament, and of the fourth codicil, in the proportion of their respective legacies.

“ 5. Etc.

“ 6. That the pensions of Messrs. S—— and P——, and the temporary pension of Mr. Antommarchi, be payable by the legatees, viz.: to Mr. S——, at the rate of, &c.; to Mr. P——, at the rate of, &c.; and to Mr. Antommarchi, an annual sum of three thousand francs, until her Majesty, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, shall undertake to fulfil the last wishes of the testator, by granting him a pension.

“ The present judgment, signed in duplicate, will be deposited amongst the records of the tribunal *de Première Instance*, sitting at Paris, in order to place the parties in a situation to be able to request its judicial confirmation; and

also with M. Bertrand, attorney to the estate, in order that the legatees may have the means of referring to it.

“ Done at Paris, in the residence of the Duke of Bassano, one of the arbitrators, the 16th May, 1823,

(Signed) “ COUNT DARU,

“ DUKE OF BASSANO,

“ CAULINCOURT, Duke of Vicenza.”

This extraordinary sentence was generally disapproved of ; its provisions were blamed, and motives were assigned for it ; discussions and misunderstandings prevailed : all the passions were roused ; when General Montholon renounced the benefit of the decision by the following letter :—

“ Paris, June 12th, 1823.

“ Having seen the judgment of arbitration, pronounced on the 16th of May ult. by the Duke of Bassano, the Duke of Vicenza, and Count Daru, with respect to the liquidation of the estate of the Emperor Napoleon, I declare that I persist in the opinion expressed in my

letter of 3d June, 1823, to the arbitrators, *and will not enjoy any preference of entire payment that might be onerous to my co-legatees.*

“ I consequently renounce the benefit that would result to me from the execution of that Article of the said judgment, which orders that *in case the munificence of the heir should induce him to abandon his hereditary portion in favour of the legatees*, the payment of the legacies of St. Helena should be first completed upon the division of that hereditary portion.

(Signed)

“DE MONTHOLON.”

This act of disinterestedness was greeted and applauded, and put an end to all discussions. The legatees were restored to the sentiments which had united them, and I resumed my studies—they are preferable to arbitration and lawsuits.

## **APPENDIX.**



## APPENDIX.

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[NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—The following Documents, which we had deemed it advisable to omit as having already appeared in other publications, are, upon consideration, here subjoined for the convenience of the Reader, who may wish to refer to them.]

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No. 1.

### PROTEST

ADDRESSED TO SIR HUDSON LOWE.

See Vol. I. Page 59.

“GENERAL,—I have received the Treaty of the 2d of August, 1815, concluded between His Britannic Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, which was annexed to your letter of the 23d of July.

“The Emperor Napoleon protests against the purport of that Treaty; he is not the prisoner of Eng-

land. After having placed his abdication in the hands of the representatives of the nation, for the benefit of the Constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he proceeded voluntarily and freely to England, for the purpose of residing there, as a private person, in retirement, under the protection of the British laws. The violation of all laws cannot constitute a right in fact. The person of the Emperor Napoleon is in the power of England; but neither, as a matter of fact nor of right, has it been, or is it at present, in the power of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, even according to the laws and customs of England, which has never included, in its exchange of prisoners, Russians, Austrians, Prussians, Spaniards, or Portuguese, although united to these powers by treaties of alliance, and making war conjointly with them. The Convention of the 2d of August, made fifteen days after the Emperor Napoleon had arrived in England, cannot, as a matter of right, have any effect; it merely presents the spectacle of the coalition of the four principal powers of Europe for the oppression of a single man; a coalition which the opinion of every people disavows, as do all the principles of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, not possessing, either in fact or by right, any power over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, were incapable of enacting any thing with regard to him. If the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that prince would have remembered the relations formed by re-

ligion and nature between a father and a son—relations which are never violated with impunity. He would have remembered that four times Napoleon re-established him on his throne; at Leoben in 1797, and at Luneville in 1801, when his armies were under the walls of Vienna; at Presburg in 1806, and at Vienna in 1809, when his armies were in possession of the capital and of three-fourths of the monarchy. That prince would have remembered the protestations which he made to him at the bivouac of Moravia in 1806, and at the interview at Dresden in 1812. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have remembered the ties of friendship, contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurth, and during twelve years of daily intercourse; he would have remembered the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon the day subsequent to the battle of Austerlitz, when, having it in his power to take him prisoner with the remains of his army, he contented himself with his word, and let him effect his retreat; he would have remembered the dangers to which the Emperor Napoleon personally exposed himself to extinguish the fire of Moscow, and preserve that capital for him; unquestionably that prince would not have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in distress. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been even in the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would not have forgotten that it was optional with the Emperor, after the battle of Friedland, to place another prince on the throne of Berlin; he

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would not have forgotten, in the presence of a disarmed enemy, the protestations of devotedness and the sentiments which he expressed to him, in 1812, at the interviews at Dresden. It is, accordingly, evident from the 2d and 5th Articles of the said Treaty, that, being incapable of any influence whatever over the fate and the person of the Emperor Napoleon, who is not in their power, these princes refer themselves in that respect to the future conduct of His Britannic Majesty, who undertakes to fulfil all obligations.

“ These princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon with preferring the protection of the English laws to theirs. The false ideas which the Emperor Napoleon entertained of the liberality of the English laws, and of the influence of a great, generous, and free people on its Government, decided him in preferring the protection of these laws to that of his father-in-law, or of his old friend. The Emperor Napoleon always would have been able to obtain the security of what related personally to himself, whether by placing himself again at the head of the army of the Loire, or by putting himself at the head of the army of the Gironde, commanded by General Clauzel ; but looking for the future only to retirement and to the protection of the laws of a free nation, either English or American, all stipulations appeared useless to him. He thought that the English people would have been more bound by his frank conduct, which was noble and full of confidence, than it could have been by the most solemn treaties. He has been deceived, but this

delusion will for ever excite the indignation of real Britons; and with the present, as well as future generations, it will be a proof of the perfidy of the English administration. Austrian and Russian Commissioners are arrived at Saint Helena: if the object of their mission be to fulfil part of the duties which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted by the Treaty of the 2d of August, and to take care that the English agents, in a small colony in the middle of the Ocean, do not fail in the attentions due to a prince connected with them by the ties of affinity, and by so many relations, the characteristics of these two sovereigns will be recognised in that measure. But you, Sir, have asserted that these Commissioners possessed neither the right nor the power of giving any opinion on whatever may be transacted on this rock.

“The English ministry have caused the Emperor Napoleon to be transported to Saint Helena, two thousand leagues from Europe. This rock, situated under the tropic, at the distance of five hundred leagues from every kind of continent, is, in that latitude, exposed to a devouring heat; it is, during three-fourths of the year, covered with clouds and mists; it is at once the driest and wettest country in the world: this is the most inimical climate to the Emperor's health. It is hatred which dictated the selection of this residence, as well as the instructions given by the English ministry to the officers who commanded in this country: they have been ordered to call the Emperor Napoleon, General, being desirous of compelling him to acknow-

ledge that he never reigned in France, which decided him not to take an incognito title, as he had determined, in quitting France. First magistrate for life, under the title of First Consul, he concluded the Preliminaries of London and the Treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain. He received, as ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that quality at his Court. He sent to the King of England Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided as ambassadors at the Court of Windsor. When, after the exchange of letters between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs belonging to the two monarchies, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris, provided with full powers from the King of England, he treated with the plenipotentiaries provided with full powers from the Emperor Napoleon, and resided several months at the Court of the Tuileries. When afterwards, at Chatillon, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum, which the Allied Powers presented to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he thereby recognised the fourth dynasty. That ultimatum was more advantageous than the Treaty of Paris; but France was required to renounce Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort, and to the proclamations of the Allied Powers; and was also contrary to the oath by which, at his consecration, the Emperor had sworn the integrity of the empire. The Emperor then thought these national limits were necessary to the security of France, as well as to the equilibrium of Europe; he thought that the

French nation, in the circumstances under which she found herself, ought rather to risk every chance of war than to give them up. France would have obtained that integrity, and with it preserved her honour, had not treason contributed to the success of the Allies. The Treaty of the 2d of August, and the Bill of the British Parliament, style the Emperor, Napoleon Buonaparte, and give him only the title of General. The title of *General Buonaparte* is, no doubt, eminently glorious; the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcole, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne that of First Consul and of Emperor: it would be an admission that he has been neither first magistrate of the Republic, nor sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who think that nations are flocks which, by divine right, belong to some families, are neither of the present age, nor of the spirit of the English legislature, which has several times changed the succession of its dynasties; because the great alterations occasioned by opinions, in which the reigning princes did not participate, had made them enemies to the happiness of the great majority of that nation: for kings are but hereditary magistrates who exist but for the happiness of nations, and not nations for the satisfaction of kings. It is the same spirit of hatred which directed that the Emperor Napoleon should not write, nor receive any letter, without its being opened and read by the English Ministers and

the officers of Saint Helena. He has, by that regulation, been interdicted the possibility of receiving intelligence from his mother, his wife, his son, his brothers: and when, wishing to free himself from the inconvenience of having his letters read by inferior officers, he desired to send sealed letters to the Prince Regent, he was told that open letters only could be taken charge of and conveyed; and that such were the instructions of the Ministry. That measure stands in need of no comment; it will suggest strange ideas of the spirit of the administration by which it was dictated; it would be disclaimed even at Algiers! Letters have been received for general officers in the Emperor's suite; they were opened and delivered to you; you have retained them, because they had not been transmitted through the medium of the English Ministry; it was found necessary to make them travel four thousand leagues over again; and these officers had the misfortune to know, that there existed on this rock news from their wives, their mothers and their children, and that they could not be put in possession of it in less than six months!!!—The heart revolts. Permission could not be obtained to subscribe to the *Morning Chronicle*, to the *Morning Post*, or to some French journals. Some broken numbers of the *Times* have been occasionally sent to Longwood. In consequence of the demand made on board of the *Northumberland*, some books have been sent; but all those which relate to the transactions of late years have

been carefully kept back. It was since intended to open a correspondence with a London bookseller, for the purpose of being directly supplied with books which might be wanted, and with those relative to the events of the day ; that intention was frustrated. An English author having published at London an account of his travels in France, took the trouble to send it, as a present to the Emperor ; but you did not think yourself authorised to deliver it to him, because it had not reached you through the channel of your Government. It is also said that other books, sent by their authors, have not been delivered, because the address of some was,—To the Emperor Napoleon ; and of others,—To Napoleon the Great. The English Ministry are not authorised to order any of these vexations. The law, however unjust, considers the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war ; but prisoners of war have never been prohibited from subscribing to the journals, or receiving books that are printed : such a prohibition is exercised only in the dungeons of the Inquisition.

“ The island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference ; it is every where inaccessible ; the coast is guarded by brigs ; posts within sight of each other are placed on the shore, and all communication with the sea is rendered impracticable. There is but one small town, James Town, where the vessels anchor, and from which they sail. In order to prevent the escape of an individual, it is sufficient to guard the coast by land and sea. By interdicting the interior of the

island, one object only can be in view, that of preventing a ride of eight or ten miles, which it would be possible to take on horseback, and the privation of which, according to the consultations of medical men, is abridging the Emperor's days.

“ The Emperor has been placed at Longwood, which is exposed to every wind; a barren piece of ground, uninhabited, without water, and incapable of any kind of cultivation. The space contains about 1200 uncultivated fathoms. At the distance of 11 or 1200 fathoms, a camp was established on a small eminence; another has been since placed nearly at the same distance in an opposite direction: so that in the intense heat of the tropic, whatever way the eye is directed, nothing is seen but encampments. Admiral Malcolm, perceiving the utility of which a tent would be to the Emperor in that situation, has had one pitched by his seamen at the distance of twenty paces from the house: it is the only spot in which the shade is to be found. The Emperor, has, however, every reason to be satisfied with the spirit which animates the officers and soldiers of the gallant 53d, as he had been with the crew of the Northumberland. Longwood House was constructed to serve as a barn to the Company's farm; some apartments were afterwards made in it by the Deputy-Governor of the island: he used it for a country-house; but it was, in no respect, adapted for a residence. During the year it has been inhabited, it has been always in want of

repair, and the Emperor has been constantly exposed to the inconvenience and unwholesomeness of a house in which workmen are employed. His bedchamber is too small to contain a bedstead of ordinary size ; but every kind of building at Longwood would prolong the inconvenience arising from the workmen employed. There are, however, in this wretched island, some beautiful situations, with fine trees, gardens, and tolerably good houses, among others Plantation House ; but you are prevented by the positive instructions of the ministry from granting this house, which would have saved a great deal of expense, laid out in building, at Longwood, huts covered with pitched paper, which are no longer of any use. You have prohibited every kind of intercourse between us and the inhabitants of the island ; you have, in fact, converted Longwood House into a secret prison ; you have even thrown difficulties in the way of our communication with the officers of the garrison. The most anxious care would seem to be taken to deprive us of the few resources afforded by this miserable country, and we are no better off here than we should be on Ascension Rock. During the four months you have been at St. Helena, you have, Sir, rendered the Emperor's condition worse. It was observed to you by Count Bertrand, that you violated the law of your legislature—that you trampled upon the privileges of general officers, prisoners of war. You answered that you knew nothing but the letter of your instructions, and that



they were still worse than your conduct appeared to us.

I have the honour, &c. &c.

(Signed)

COUNT DE MONTHOLON.

“ P. S.—I had, Sir, signed this letter, when I received yours of the 17th, to which you annex the estimate of an annual sum of 20,000*l.* sterling, which you consider indispensable to meet the expenses of the establishment of Longwood, after having made all the reductions which you have thought possible. The consideration of this estimate can, in no respect, concern us: the Emperor's table is scarcely supplied with what is necessary; all the provisions are of a bad quality, and four times dearer than at Paris. You require a fund of 12,000*l.* sterling from the Emperor, as your Government only allows you 8,000*l.* for all these expenses. I have had the honour of telling you, that the Emperor had no funds; that no letter had been received or written for a year, and that he was altogether unacquainted with what is passing, or what may have passed, in Europe. Transplanted by violence to this rock, at the distance of two thousand leagues, without being able to receive or to write any letter, he now finds himself at the discretion of the English agents. The Emperor has uniformly desired, and still desires, to provide himself for all his expenses of every nature; and he will do so as speedily as you shall give possibility to

the means, by taking off the prohibition laid upon the merchants of the island, of carrying on his correspondence, and releasing it from all kind of inquisition on your part, or on that of any of your agents. The moment the Emperor's wants shall be known in Europe, the persons who interest themselves for him will transmit the necessary funds for his supplies.

“ The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange ideas ! Can your Ministers, then, be so ignorant as not to know that the spectacle of a great man struggling with adversity is the most sublime of spectacles ? Can they be ignorant that Napoleon, at St. Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every kind, against which his serenity is his only shield, is greater, more sacred, more venerable, than on the first throne of the world, where he was so long the arbiter of Kings ? Those who fail in respect to Napoleon, thus situated, merely degrade their own character, and the nation which they represent ! ”

## No. 2.

## DECLARATION OF THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

See Vol. I. page 95.

On the 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 16th August, 1819, attempts were made for the first time to violate the pavilion inhabited by the Emperor Napoleon, which to this epoch had been constantly respected. He resisted against this violence by shutting and locking the doors. *In this situation, he reiterates the protestation which he has made, and caused to be made several times, that the right of his door shall not be violated unless by walking over his corpse.* He has given up every thing, and for three years has lived concentrated in the interior of six small rooms, in order to escape from insults and outrages. If baseness is carried to the degree of envying him this refuge, it has been determined to leave him no other than the tomb. Labouring for two years under a chronic hepatitis, a disease endemic in this place, and *for a year deprived of the assistance of his physicians by the forcible removal of Doctor O'Meara in July, 1818, and of Doctor Stokoe in January, 1819,* he has experienced several crises, during which he has been obliged to keep his bed, sometimes for fifteen or twenty successive days. At the present moment, in the midst of one of the most violent of the crises that he has yet experienced,

confined to his bed for nine days, having only patience, diet, and the bath, to oppose to the disease ; for *six days his tranquillity has been disturbed by threats of an attack, and of outrages which the Prince Regent, Lord Liverpool, and all Europe, well know he will never submit to.* As the wish to debase and to insult him is daily manifested, he reiterates the declaration he has already made,—That he has not taken, nor will he take, any notice, nor has he ordered, nor will he order, any answer to be given to any despatches or packets, the wording of which shall be done in a manner injurious to him, and contrary to the forms which have been established for four years, to correspond with him through the intermediation of his officers ; that he has thrown, and will throw, into the fire, or out of the windows, those insulting packets, not wishing to innovate any thing upon the state of affairs that has existed for some years.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

Longwood, 16th August, 1819.

## No. 3.

## ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF CARINTHIA.

See Vol. I. Page 133.

“ THE French army does not come into your country to conquer it, or to enforce any alteration in your religion, manners, or customs. It is the friend of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany.

“ The Executive Directory of the French Republic has spared no endeavour to put an end to the calamities which afflict the Continent: it had determined to make the first advance, and to send General Clarke to Vienna, as a Plenipotentiary, to commence negotiations for peace. But the Court of Vienna refused to listen to it; and even declared, at Vicenza, through the medium of M. de St. Vincent, that it did not acknowledge the French Republic. General Clarke demanded a passport, in order to address himself to the Emperor in person; but the Ministers of the Court of Vienna were justly apprehensive that the moderation of the proposals he was instructed to offer might determine the Emperor to make peace. Those Ministers, corrupted by English gold, betray Germany and their prince, and have no other will than that of those treacherous islanders whom all Europe abhors.

**“ Inhabitants of Carinthia, I know that you detest, as much as we do, both the English, who are the only gainers by the present war, and your Ministry, which is sold to them. If we have been six years at war, it has been against the will of the brave Hungarians, of the enlightened citizens of Vienna, and of the honest unsophisticated inhabitants of Carinthia.**

**“ Well ! in spite of England and of the Ministers of the Court of Vienna, let us be friends. The French Republic has the rights of conquest over you ; let them be annulled by a contract of mutual obligation. You will not interfere in a war carried on contrary to your inclinations. You will furnish the provisions of which we may stand in need. On my side, I will protect your religion, manners, and property ; I shall require no contribution of you ; is not war in itself sufficiently horrible ? Have you not suffered enough already, innocent victims of the folly of others ? All the taxes you are accustomed to pay the Emperor, will serve to indemnify you for the damage inseparable from the march of an army, and to pay for the provisions you may furnish us with.”**

## No. 4.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE DUKE OF TREVISO  
ON THE EVACUATION OF MOSCOW.

See Vol. I. Page 274.

## “ TO THE MAJOR-GENERAL.

“ ACQUAINT the Duke de Treviso, that as soon as his business in Moscow is finished, that is, on the 23d. at three o'clock in the morning, he is to begin to march, and that he must come on the 24th to Kubinskoe; and from that place, instead of going to Mojaisk, he is to proceed to Vereia, where he will arrive on the 25th. He will serve as an intermediate force between Mojaisk, where the Duke d'Abantes is, and Borowsk, where the army will be. It will be right for him to send officers to Fominskoe to inform us of his march; he will take with him the Adjutant-commandant Bourmont, the Bavarians, and the Spaniards who are at the Palace of Gallitzin. All the Westphalians of the first and second posts, and all the Westphalians that he can find, he must assemble and direct towards Mojaisk: if they are not in sufficient number, he will protect their passage with the cavalry. The Duke de Treviso will inform

the Duke d'Abrantes of every thing relative to the surrender of Moscow. It is necessary that he write to us to-morrow the 22d, not by the road of Desma, but by that of Karapowo and Fominskoe. On the 23d he will send us a letter by the road of Mojaïsk : his officer will leave the road at Kubinskoe to come to Fominskoe, as the head-quarters on the 23d are likely to be at Borowsk or at Fominskoe. Whether the Duke de Treviso perform his operation at three o'clock in the morning of to-morrow the 22d, or on the 23d at the same hour, as I have since ordered him, he is in either case to follow these same directions ; by these means the Duke de Treviso may be considered as the rear-guard of the army. I cannot too strongly recommend to place on the waggons belonging to the young guard, or those belonging to the dismounted cavalry—in short, on all that can be found, the men who remain still in the hospitals. The Romans gave civic crowns to those who saved citizens ; the Duke will deserve as many as he may save soldiers. He must mount them on his horses, and on those of all his people.

“ This is what the Emperor did at the siege of Saint-Jean-d'Acre. He ought the rather to take this step, because as soon as the convoy shall have joined the army, it will have waggons and horses, which the consumption of provisions will have rendered useless. The Emperor hopes that he shall have the pleasure of thanking the Duke de Treviso for having saved five hundred men. He ought, as is but



just, to begin with the officers, then the sub-officers, and to give the French the preference. He must assemble all the generals and officers under his command, to make them sensible of the importance of this measure, and how much they will gain the Emperor's esteem, by saving for him five hundred men."

THE END.

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